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Illinois · Statistics of Convict Labor · 1886

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STATISTICS
OF
CONVICT LABOR.

ADVANCED CHAPTERS FROM THE
FOURTH BIENNIAL REPORT
OF THE
BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS
OF THE
STATE OF ILLINOIS.

STATISTICS

OF

CONVICT LABOR.

Manufacturers Against Convict Labor.

The Age of Steel.

Mr. W. T. Lewis, a manufacturer at Racine, Wis., gathered about him in Chicago the other day a number of people interested in the convict labor question. Replies received to letters of inquiry addressed to the wardens of state penitentiaries showed that the boot and shoe, wagon making and stocking manufacturing interests were the chief sufferers from the competition of convict labor. In Florida the convicts are let out to contractors for naval stores. In Tennessee 19,000 vehicles are manufactured at a rate of wages averaging 35 cents a day. In Louisiana the prisoners are employed on the levees, being leased to contractors who pay all expenses and relieve the state of all cost. The outcome of the discussion was the organization of a national anti-convict contract association, whose object it is to secure the adoption of that method of prison employment which shall be least oppressive to free labor and the manufacturing interests of the country. Resolutions were passed asking Congress to prohibit the sale of convict labor goods outside of the state in which manufactured; to withdraw Federal prisoners from state penitentiaries working on the contract system, and to prohibit the purchase of prison labor products for government uses.

REPORT
STATISTICS

[S.

SPRINGFIELD, ILL.:
H. W. ROKKER, STATE PRINTER AND BINDER.
1886.

gave the cook his flying paper.

papers could be written about food, but this is not the place

Time we all have alike,—food we must have about alike,—but when we come to clothing and houses we begin to differ very much. We can survive for a time with either. On the other hand, one man has more clothing than he can wear, while another has only a few rags to cover himself with. One man has more rooms than he has children; another man has a great many more children than he has rooms. What shall we do about it?

How does one man get more than another? That is the question there is in the labor question. There are two ways of answering this question. One way is to get more than the next man to *earn* it, the other way is to *steal* it. Is there any other way? A good while ago almost every man that had more than the next man had stolen it. In some parts of the world they steal it now. In some other places they steal part and earn part. In this country most people earn what they get and very few steal. Some of the men who call themselves “friends of the laborer” say that almost all capitalists steal from almost all the laborers. Others say that the only real thieves are the men who own land and won’t let any one else have it. Others say the railroad companies are the big thieves.

STATISTICS
OF
CONVICT LABOR.

ADVANCED CHAPTERS FROM THE

FOURTH BIENNIAL REPORT

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CONVICT LABOR.

INTRODUCTORY.

The following joint resolution was passed at the close of the session of the XXXIV General Assembly of Illinois:

“Resolved by the Senate, the House of Representatives concurring herein, That there be submitted to the people of the State of Illinois, for their ratification or rejection at the next general election for members of the General Assembly, the following additional amendment to the Constitution:

“Resolved, That hereafter it shall be unlawful for the commissioners of any penitentiary or other reformatory institution in the State of Illinois to let by contract to any person or persons, or corporations, the labor of any convict confined within said institution.”

This resolution was the final fruit of a prolonged contest in both houses over various bills to abolish the so-called contract system of labor in the penal institutions of the State.

There had been during this session of the legislature thirteen different bills presented in the two houses, all having for their object the reorganization of the labor systems of the two penitentiaries, on some basis other than that of the contract system. Nine of these bills were introduced in the House of Representatives, and were rejected by the committee to which they were referred. One of them was, however, taken up in spite of the recommendation of the committee, and pushed to its final passage in the House and forwarded to the Senate.

This bill was duly considered and advanced in the Senate, but in the last hours of the session failed to receive the two-thirds vote necessary to take it up out of its order for final action, and consequently did not become a law.

During the same session four bills of a similar character had originated in the Senate. One of these had also been finally passed by that body, and was submitted to the House, but was there defeated.

After the many close divisions on this question, which arose in the course of the deliberations upon these various bills, it was not difficult for both houses to unite upon a proposition to submit the issue direct to the consideration and vote of the people.

The foregoing joint resolution was accordingly framed, providing for the submission to a popular vote of the proposition to so amend the constitution of the State as to prohibit in future the making of contracts for the labor of convicts. This was introduced in the Senate and received the approval of that body by a vote of 49 to 1; and afterwards being referred to the House, it was there concurred in by a vote of 119 to 9.

This action has brought the subject of prison labor directly before the people, who will be called upon at the next election for members of the General Assembly to declare their wishes in regard to the continuance of the present system.

There are in the two penitentiaries of Illinois 2,308 convicts, of whom all but 34 are male adults; and in the Reform School 312 boys, making in all 2,620 inmates of these three institutions. Of this number 2,565 are at work, and of these 1,873 are at work under the contract system, as follows: 1,304 at Joliet, 410 at Chester, and 159 at Pontiac.

The contracts under which they are employed have been made for terms varying in duration, under the law which instructs the commissioners to let the labor of convicts "for such periods as they may deem advisable, not exceeding eight years." By virtue of this act the contracts now in force have for the most part been made for the longest period permitted, and the more important contracts have been so recently made or renewed that they cannot expire for a number of years. The exact situation in this regard in the penitentiaries is as follows:

Contracts for	25	men	expire in	1886.
"	267	"	"	1887.
"	305	"	"	1889.
"	350	"	"	1890.
"	472	"	"	1892.
"	295	"	"	1894.

In other words, 292 will be released under existing contracts in about one year, 305 in about two years, 350 in three years, or 947 in

all within the next three years; while 472 are under contract for nearly six years and 295 for eight. Of the last number 60 are under contract for three years, with a contractor's option for eight years.

The contract for 159 boys in the shoe factory at Pontiac, which was made for five years, expires in September, 1887.

The penitentiary contracts which expire within the next three years are for men employed in all the shops, and the expiration of contracts will operate to reduce the force in those shops rather than to close them altogether.

It thus appears that unless existing contracts be dissolved by mutual consent or special arrangement, even the adoption of the proposed constitutional amendment could have but small immediate effect upon prison industries as at present conducted. This feature of the situation, however, though it may obstruct summary and radical changes, possesses the advantage that it may facilitate a more effectual, because gradual, introduction of a new system of labor. It will be easier to adjust the details of a new system to a few men at first, and a few more each year, as the contracts expire, than to attempt a violent readjustment of the entire force at once.

Another feature of the present situation is that contractors are themselves becoming timid of prison contracts and do not as readily absorb the surplus convicts, when offered, as formerly. On the 5th of January last the commissioners of the Joliet penitentiary advertised for proposals for the hire of 150 convicts, but contrary to all precedent received no bids for them whatever.

But as the law prohibits the employment of convicts, except temporarily, under any other system than the contract, and requires that they shall be continuously advertised at intervals until they are let, the commissioners have had no alternative but to continue to cry these convicts at public auction, without bidders, for a period of nine months. At last, however, contractors have ventured to come forward and take them for a new term of eight years, though at a lower price than has ever before been accepted.

The hesitancy displayed in this matter is looked upon as the direct consequence of the recent popular agitation upon the subject of convict labor. For a year or more the labor organizations of the State have been engaged in a crusade against the contract system, and have directed their efforts especially to rendering convict-made goods

odious to both dealers and consumers. By this course, it is said, they have so imperiled the business of prison contractors that they have been disposed rather to surrender their contracts altogether than to assume new ones.

This fact is significant as indicating both the popular condemnation of the system and also the potency of the popular voice in giving effect to its mandates even in advance of legal processes.

The situation then, in brief, is that the contract system of prison labor, which has been the only system permitted under the laws of the State for over fifteen years, is now under indictment as harmful in principle and practice, and that an appeal is taken to the people to sustain that indictment at the polls, and forever remove the system by a prohibitory clause in the constitution.

Under these circumstances it is becoming to consider, more especially from the standpoint of the industrial interests of the State, what the various systems of labor in prisons are; what the experience of this and other States has been under different systems; also what the alleged evils of the contract system may be, and what plans are offered as a relief from those evils.

CHAPTER I.

SYSTEMS OF PRISON LABOR.

Under a penal code which uniformly prescribes "hard labor" as an element of every sentence to confinement, the first and constant problem is, into what channels shall the enforced industry thus concentrated in penal institutions be directed.

Primarily in the history of many States, and still in the practice of the Southern States, the authorities have relieved themselves of the details of supervision and direction by surrendering their entire criminal population, and often the public prisons in which they are confined, to civilian lessees, who undertake to give them "hard labor" and to feed, clothe and restrain them of their liberty in consideration of their services.

This is known as the Lease System, and under it prisons and prisoners are leased, upon terms varying with localities, for a series of years, and the lessees assume to execute the sentence of the court upon the prisoner; to relieve the State of all charges for the care or maintenance of its criminals; in some instances to pay a nominal sum per capita, or per annum, in addition; and to reward themselves by the labor of the convict applied in such industries and in such numbers and places as may best promote the lessees' pecuniary interests. Under this system prisoners are frequently scattered about the country in gangs, working upon railroads or plantations, or in mines, and confined in such temporary quarters as the circumstances may permit, at the will of the contracting lessees.

As a broader conception of the responsibilities of the State toward its people and its criminals is developed, the migratory feature of the lease system is usually abolished and convicts are restrained within prison walls during their entire term; and this leads to the development of such permanent industries as can be profitably and continuously prosecuted within the enclosures of the State.

Prisoners thus permanently congregated are employed at hard

labor in various ways in accordance with the policy of the several States. In some the lease system is continued, the lessee having possession of the prison and the control, maintenance and discipline of the prisoners, whom he engages in such industries as he may choose. In general, however, when permanent penitentiaries are established the State takes charge of its own property and assigns the management, discipline and financial policy of the institution to salaried officers, expressly prohibited from holding any pecuniary interest in its business affairs.

It then devolves upon the State to define the industrial policy of its penal institutions and provide for the execution of the hard labor sentence upon its convicted criminals. This is usually effected by special legislation, outlining the general policy to be pursued, but vesting discretionary powers within certain limits in the hands of the prison authorities.

Several systems of prison management, involving various methods of applying the labor of convicts to productive industry, have thus become established in this country, each of which has its advocates, while none of them is conceded to be the ideal system which leaves nothing to be wished for.

Aside from the lease system, already alluded to, and which has no status now in any northern State except Nebraska, the three systems under which the majority of the great prisons are operated are known as the Contract System, the Public Account System and the Piece-Price Plan.

Under the contract system the State provides buildings for incarceration and for shops; food, clothing and subsistence for prisoners; and retains, in the hands of its officers, exclusive jurisdiction over the internal management and discipline of the institution.

The labor of the convicts thus fed, clothed and disciplined is then sold to the highest bidder for a given sum per capita per day, in consideration for which the State delivers the men in shops or yards, within the walls, and the contractor gives them employment under superintendents of his own.

Under the public account system the State conducts its own industries, without the intervention of contractors; buys its raw material and sells its manufactured products in open market, and applies its balances to the expense account of the institution.

The piece-price plan, so-called, also contemplates the working of prisoners by the State, and for public account, but with the difference that contracting parties outside the prison furnish the raw ma-

terial and sometimes the machinery, and receive the product, upon the payment of a given sum per piece for the manufacture of each article. This relieves the State from the investment of capital in stock, and from the risks of the markets, while affording work for convicts nominally under the sole supervision and control of the prison authorities.

There are also differences in practice and opinion as to the relative merits of the congregate and separate systems of confinement and labor; but the former is so nearly universal that it will be unnecessary here to consider the special advantages claimed for the latter.

It is noticeable that all existing systems for the punishment and reformation of criminals are based upon the fundamental idea that active industry is essential to the best results. Neither the prison reformer nor the labor reformer will consent to the prisoner's idleness, and in fact solitary confinement without occupation is a thing of the past. All penal institutions of the present day provide occupation for convicts, and aim to make it productive. The experiment of unproductive, or punitive labor, involving merely physical effort and endurance, without other object or result, has been fully tried, and the practice has worked out its own condemnation.

The convict labor question of to-day therefore resolves itself into the simple inquiry as to which of several systems of productive labor in prisons is the best for society and for the prisoner, rather than any question as to the banishment of all labor in prisons.

This question has recently become of paramount public interest in Illinois and in other States, because of the protest which has arisen from the industrial classes against what is known as the contract system. The inciting cause for this protest is the injury which that system inflicts upon the private enterprise and honest labor of the citizens of the State in certain branches of industry.

This complaint has become intensified in recent years—though it is by no means a new grievance—by the continued industrial depression which has prevailed throughout the country. What may have been submitted to in more prosperous periods because its influence was less directly felt, becomes, under the present stress laid upon business and labor, an injury to be vehemently resented.

Again, the same industrial disturbances have developed an unwonted activity in the organization of labor. Men are realizing and utilizing the power which resides in numbers, and are concentrating their energies upon such objects as most nearly affect their welfare.

These conditions in the industrial world combine to give a force and emphasis to the movement against convict labor, as at present directed, which is being recognized on every hand. Appeals have recently been made to the legislatures of several of the States, which could not be resisted; and within a few years five of the great manufacturing States have inaugurated changes, and are now making trial of other systems of convict labor in the effort to remove the evils complained of.

In this State also, there is an element, respectable in numbers, intelligence and worth, entirely qualified to speak and to have a hearing upon this subject, who declare that the State is arrayed against them; that instead of making its penal institutions a charge upon the public revenues, and assuming whatever outlay may be necessary as a legitimate part of the cost of government, the policy is and has been in effect to impose this part of the public burden indirectly upon a limited number of the industrious poor. They have more than once asked for legislation to relieve them from the disabilities thus imposed, and to distribute the cost of prisons, like that of charitable institutions, equitable among the whole people.

In response to that demand the question has been finally submitted to the vote of the people, and in anticipation of a desire for information upon the subject, this chapter has been prepared as a presentation of the case from the standpoint of the manufacturers and workingmen of the State.

THE EXPERIENCE OF ILLINOIS.

Illinois has now had an experience of fifty-five years in the maintenance and management of a State penitentiary. During that period there has been a gradual development of the institution in magnitude and methods corresponding with the growth and advancement of the State, until at present it contains an average population of 1600 convicts, confined in an extensive modern structure which has cost the State more than a million dollars. To this, moreover, has been added an auxiliary prison in the southern portion of the State; also of approved character and large capacity.

The Illinois penitentiary was originally established at Alton, in 1831, where it was maintained until 1860. In that year the buildings at Alton were finally abandoned and the remaining prisoners were transferred to the new penitentiary at Joliet.

In 1878 the additional penitentiary, known as the Southern, was established at Chester, and in this there are now incarcerated an average of 700 prisoners.

There are therefore 2,300 convicts, for the most part male adults, sentenced to hard labor, for an average term of 6 years and 4 months, who constitute the element for whose detention and employment at continuous labor provision must be made.

The State has not been without experience of the most varied and instructive character during its half-century of prison management; and a reference to some phases of that experience is germane to a consideration of the present situation, and of any changes which may be contemplated in the future.

Each of the three methods of utilizing convict labor has had some trial in Illinois, although the lease system has characterized the administration of prison affairs for a much longer period than the others. This was introduced in 1839, and was maintained, through much evil report, as the established policy of the State, until 1867, a period of 28 years. Illinois was the last of the Northern States to abandon the lease system, and its end was finally precipitated by the lessees themselves, who became bankrupt, and surrendered their lease and possession of the penitentiary two years before their last term had expired.

The State then assumed control and management of its own property and people, and for four years and a half endeavored, under every adverse condition, to establish the public account system.

Finally abandoning an experiment which had every element of failure in it from the first, the present, or so-called contract system was inaugurated in 1871. This system has now been in active operation for over fifteen years and has very fully developed whatever advantages can be claimed for it and whatever evils are condemned in it.

We thus find three epochs in the prison history of the State, and three distinct lines of policy applied to prison labor. Each period has been characterized by more or less of legislative investigation, report and discussion; by frequent complications between public and private interests and ambitions; by demands for reform and appeals for the old order; and by popular criticism of methods and results. Especially was all of this true of the latter part of the period when the lease was in vogue and during the financial entanglements which succeeded it. Through it all there has, no doubt, been great advance in the science of prison management and in the application of it to our own penal institutions; also a better popular understanding of the difficulties which hinder many desired reforms; yet

certain objectionable features of policy and practice have survived all the controversies of the past, and still-provoke the censure of many intelligent people.

In any review of the sentiment which has found expression in former discussions of prison affairs, two theories or principles of prison government are found to have been continuously urged as the true policy of the State, which still have never been practically recognized. They lie at the root of the present controversy.

One is: That the State should direct its energies primarily to the reformation and punishment of the criminals, not to the making of money nor the defraying of prison expenses.

The other: That whatever the motive or method, the State should not in any manner or degree jeopardize the interests of the private citizen.

A brief survey of the experience of the State under different systems of prison control, and of the utterances of public men on this subject, will develop the persistency with which these ideas have been urged, the readiness with which the propriety of them has been conceded, and at the same time the continued disinclination which has been shown to put them in practice.

THE ILLINOIS PENITENTIARY UNDER THE LEASE SYSTEM—1839-1867.

Alton.

In the year 1838 the State penitentiary at Alton contained 30 prisoners. Prior to this time the inmates of the prison had been variously employed within and without the walls, under a resolution of the legislature authorizing the prison authorities to "farm out" the labor of convicts. Within the walls they were employed in making pork barrels and breaking stone. The administration was in the hands of three "inspectors" and their superintendent or warden. A difference of opinion had already developed as to the method of working the men. The officers recommended the "leasing of the whole concern to some reliable party for 8 or 10 years," but a special committee of the legislature advised the employment of the prisoners on State account; that a warden be appointed with an increased salary or a share of the profits; also a superintendent of shops; and that accurate accounts of work and of sales be kept, etc. This committee estimated that the earnings would average 75 cents a day for each convict, clear of the cost of maintenance and materials, for 250 days in the year, and that the running expenses

would not exceed 57 per cent. of all earnings, leaving 43 per cent. for contingencies, market fluctuations, etc.; "and that the penitentiary can be made thus productive * * * under proper management, your committee do not entertain a doubt." Notwithstanding this report the three inspectors proceeded to carry out their own plan, and made a lease of the penitentiary for three years, 1889-1892, to S. A. Buckmaster, who assumed to clothe, feed and care for the prisoners, holding the State free from all expense on their account, in consideration of their labor.

In justification of their course the inspectors said, "We have no hesitation in saying that in our opinion the penitentiary of Illinois like those of other States may be made to pay expenses, and even add something to the revenues of the State; at the same time we are equally certain that at present the State makes a *larger saving* annually by the lease. This results from the want of suitable workshops for convicts, who under competent instructions have become skillful in the trades; the difficulty of procuring suitable stock, and of disposing of the manufactured articles at fair prices; and the want of that system necessary to the successful operation of new establishments. These difficulties are constantly growing less. The lessees are now doing at their own expense what the State would otherwise be compelled to do at much greater expense, acting as it must, through the medium of agents. In a word, we are clearly satisfied that at the end of this or any extended lease, the State will find the penitentiary much less burthensome than it would be at present."

This plea of inability on the part of the inspectors to cope successfully with the management of 30 men, whose earnings were estimated at 75 cents a day each, over their expenses, will hardly command the respect to-day which it apparently did when it was made. The lease was made and accepted as a happy solution of the difficulties then presented. All responsibilities, save those of a perfunctory supervision, were thus dismissed at once. The lessee became responsible for the clothing, bedding, food, care and restraint of the criminal, and was invested with absolute authority over him; the penitentiary buildings and property were also converted to his sole use and control, and he was made *ex officio* his own warden. One condition, however, was relentlessly exacted,—that the State should be preserved harmless from all charges whatsoever on account of its criminal hostages.

Thus was inaugurated, nominally as a temporary expedient, both the lease system of prison management, and the pernicious doctrine that the criminals of the State should cost the State nothing.

This lease was the precursor of many others, varying somewhat in terms, but unvarying in principle; involving freedom from responsibility on the part of the State, either for the reformation, correction or control of the convict; and, in theory, a freedom from charges on his account.

Leases were regarded from the first as a franchise, to be bartered, transferred or sold at the will of the holder, and this first lease, with all it implied, was, during its life, assigned by Buckmaster to Greathouse and Dorsey, the former being made warden. Upon its expiration in 1842, the number of prisoners had increased to 131, and "the inspectors judged it for the best interest of the State to re-lease for another term of three years, which they did, to Nathaniel Buckmaster and Isaac Greathouse, for a bonus of \$6,115, one-third to be paid at the end of each year."

A legislative committee of this date, while justifying the lease, condemned the method of receiving bids, and some features of the previous management, especially the taking of prisoners outside the walls, and in some instances *out of town* to work *without guards*. The "bonus" paid under this lease was in addition to the current expenses, which the lessees continued to pay, and this was the first bonus paid for the labor of convicts.

This lease, however, was not consummated without an appeal from the citizens of Alton, who made the first protest on record against the employment of convict labor because of its injurious consequences to free labor. In their memorial to the General Assembly, 1843, the citizens of Alton complained that the system of leasing convicts did not punish nor reform them, but tended to render them more dangerous to society; and they add, "What more immediately concerns your petitioners is the unjust and highly oppressive effect which the competition of prison labor has upon the free labor of the citizens of this vicinity. It is well known that among the large number of our State prisoners, there are some acquainted with almost every branch of mechanical trade pursued among us, and that besides the common laborers, the mechanics from the prison are hired out to our neighbors, and may be found everywhere at work in the vicinity of Alton. They may be seen on our public landing, in our streets, our pork-houses, laboring on new buildings, and even in our forests cutting and hauling timber; and all this at a time when free labor-

ers cannot obtain sufficient employment, even at the lowest rates, to protect their families from want and actual suffering.

Prison labor, your honorable bodies well know, can always be afforded cheaper than the labor of your petitioners, who have to provide not only for their families but for the expenses of the State, and for this reason your petitioners cannot successfully compete with it. But it certainly cannot be the design of your honorable bodies to ruin your honest laboring constituents for the sake of supporting your convicts and criminals. Therefore your petitioners would humbly pray you to take such measures as will relieve them from the oppressive, unjust, and insufferable influence of the present system of our State penitentiary."

This appeal, however, failed to effect any relief for the citizens of Alton. The public prison was again surrendered to private speculators for another term of three years. But the vigor of this denunciation of a system which permitted the industrious citizen to be driven from his work by the convict, makes it a fitting introduction to the protests of subsequent generations, and to the present arraignment of similar practices still continued.

When the term of the second lease was drawing to a close, and in view of the approaching necessity for further legislative action in the matter, a somewhat broader view of prison management was apparently taken by the prison inspectors appointed by the State, and in their report to the General Assembly of 1845 they ventured upon the following guarded utterance:

"Everything else being considered, it may be questioned whether the penitentiary would not better answer the object had principally in view,—the reformation of convicts—if it were kept under the direct supervision of the State, and discipline of State officers, and worked for the benefit of the State, instead of a lessee, acting, of course, principally for private emolument. Indeed it might be preferable to have the officers of the penitentiary and the discipline of the convict in other hands than those of the lessee, even if the lease be continued."

Apparently recognizing, however, the temerity of this proposition, and the futility of urging it in the face of the purely profit-making policy of the day, they frankly say: "We suppose, however, the object of the legislature * * * * is to make the penitentiary support itself, and contribute as much as possible to its future improvement. Having this object in view, there can be, in our opinion, no question as to the expediency of continuing to lease it. But

in leasing it we think it the duty of the State to have regard not only to the profits arising from it, but to the kinds of business which the lessee is to carry on, favoring, as much as possible, such kinds as bear least heavily upon the trades and occupations of that vicinity of the State generally. * * * It is not right that convict labor should be brought in competition with that of citizens when it can be avoided without too great a sacrifice of public interests."

The force of these excellent sentiments is, however, seriously impaired by the conclusions reached in their final recommendations. After disparaging the lease system altogether, and especially depreciating its influence on free labor, a lease of longer term is suggested as the nearest approach to a remedy the inspectors can devise. "But the introduction of such a course of policy must be gradual and prospective. It cannot well be accomplished at once, nor can it be safely done by the lessee of so short a term as has hitherto been had. * * * With a long term the lessee might gradually withdraw the convicts from their present employments and engage them in occupations entirely different and equally profitable."

This view of the case was taken by the legislature and a committee was appointed to receive proposals for leasing the penitentiary, in which the bidders should agree "to change the labor of prisoners to the manufacture of hemp, unless in the opinion of the committee the interests of the State require an adherence to the present plan of working the convicts."

Under these general powers a majority of the committee reported in favor of accepting the proposal of S. A. Buckmaster to lease the penitentiary for a term of 8 years at a rental of \$5,100 a year. By the terms of this proposal the lessee was to perform all the duties of warden; to pay *inspectors* and guards; to furnish food, clothing, bedding and medical attendance; to require no repairs or improvements to be made by the State; to pay the bonus for the first year in advance; and to employ one-fourth of the prisoners on hemp manufacture the first year, and "the greater part of them on hemp within two years." "This last consideration," says the report, "has had some weight with the majority of the committee, and they cannot close this report without reiterating the opinion that justice and expediency both demand a change of the labor within the penitentiary of this State, and its direction to that species of labor which comes least into competition with the industrial pursuits of the free citizens of the State."

Although a minority report was submitted vigorously opposing this lease, and the manner in which it was effected, the objection was against the bidder rather than the system. The lease was made. Buckmaster became again *ex-officio* warden, and the property and prisoners of the State were once more placed beyond the control of the State, and in the hands of private parties for purely business purposes, for a long term of years.

The number of prisoners at this date was 112. Two years later in 1847 the number was increased to 135. The report of the inspectors to the legislature of this year contains the following congratulatory passage: "We take pleasure in stating that the present warden has and has had the required number [one-half] of the convicts employed in the manufacture of hempen articles. The motive power is steam, and it is believed that the withdrawal of so much labor from the other arts will materially relieve the competition that has been the subject of so much complaint before."

But that a difference of opinion still existed on this subject appears from the fact that a joint committee created by the legislature for the investigation of prison affairs is charged as follows: "* * * and that said committee be also instructed to inquire into the expediency of so changing the present system of labor in the penitentiary as to provide that it shall not come into competition with the various branches of mechanical industry carried on in this State."

The committee in response to this resolution say that they were unable to discover that any of the mechanical trades carried on in the penitentiary "interfered in any considerable degree with the same trades carried on in Alton or the adjacent country," and fail to recommend any change in the existing system.

Two years later, in 1849, a legislative committee found that repairs and improvements had been made on the penitentiary buildings by the lessee to an amount exceeding the entire amount of the bonus due from him, while the walls and buildings were still in need of considerable expenditures. Under these circumstances the inspectors were ordered to contract with the lessee for further improvements; to continue to apply the accruing bonus to that purpose, and if necessary to extend the term of his lease, which then had four years to run. Subsequently by an act approved January 31, 1851, the lease of S. A. Buckmaster was extended five years from the date of its prospective expiration, June, 1853, without change of terms or conditions.

Referring, at this time, to a proposition which had been revived to work the prisoners for account of the State, a Senate committee makes use of the following language: "This is a measure your committee would not recommend, as the State cannot realize as *great a profit* by working them herself as by farming them out, as officers of the State receiving definite compensation will never feel themselves interested as persons directly interested."

For several succeeding years no allusions are made in reports or other records to systems of labor or prison management. The prison walls and buildings are continually reported as falling, or out of repair, or deficient, and the energies of the lessee-warden, the inspectors and legislative committees were continually devoted to measures for preserving this decaying establishment from final collapse. In his message of 1858 Governor Matteson recommends the construction of an additional penitentiary in the northern part of the State, but this being submitted to the consideration of a committee, was reported upon adversely. Meanwhile the number of prisoners was increasing at an unusual ratio and in 1855 the prison population was 332, an increase of fifty per cent. in two years. Two hundred additional cells were demanded for the accommodation of this access in numbers, and as the "bonus" funds for the entire term were already expended, an appropriation of \$45,000 was asked for to meet this emergency. This is referred to as the first draft upon the treasury in behalf of the penitentiary for fifteen years. An appropriation of \$35,000 was made.

A committee of this legislature, 1855, protests against the continuance of the lease system after the expiration of the present lease and revives the recommendation for a new penitentiary in the northern part of the State.

Two years later there were 475 prisoners in the Alton penitentiary, 237 of whom were from Cook county, and an appropriation of \$65,000 was asked for. The inspectors recommend the erection of a large central prison elsewhere in the State, and the warden, being also the lessee, supplements the suggestion by recommending Joliet as a desirable location because it is on the canal, and because there is a good county jail in which to confine prisoners while at work on the new buildings. He also advises the letting of the work to contractors who will employ convicts and support them for their services.

As the extended term of the Buckmaster lease would expire before the convening of the next legislature, it devolved upon this General

Assembly both to define the future policy to be pursued at Alton and to take action in regard to a new penitentiary.

In the matter of management it was determined early in the session of 1857 to continue the lease system, and an act was passed in February to lease the penitentiary for a term of five years from June, 1858, to Samuel K. Casey on the same terms made in the former lease to Buckmaster, except that the provision in regard to the employment of convicts on hempen articles was repealed. The State, moreover, reserved the right to employ 100 convicts on the new penitentiary, for which labor a reasonable allowance was to be made to the lessee. This lease was made to embrace both the Alton penitentiary and the proposed new penitentiary when completed, so that every provision was made to perpetuate that system of traffic in convicts which had now been in vogue for twenty years.

A change, however, was made in the pseudo supervision of the institution by the appointment of one superintendent to supersede the former board of three inspectors.

His duties were to see that prisoners were properly fed, clothed and provided with medical attendance, and that no punishments were inflicted except upon his written authority.

The harmonious relations which were at once established between this new officer and the lessee are shown by the fact that the lessee, in his character as warden, takes occasion in his first report after this to commend the efficiency and fidelity of the officer who was appointed to restrain him as lessee, while the superintendent as warmly endorses the lessee as warden.

The necessity for a new and larger penitentiary in the northern part of the State was now conceded, and the law providing for its location and construction was passed in the winter of 1857.

The contract to build the penitentiary at Joliet was let to Sanger and Casey, then the lessees of the penitentiary at Alton, the latter of whom was *ex-officio* warden at Alton and also at Joliet.

This firm also became purchasers of the prison property at Alton, and paid for it in work on the buildings at Joliet, done by convicts whom they controlled both at Alton and Joliet, not only as lessees, but as contractors, and through one of the firm as warden.

In two years there were 470 prisoners at Alton and 191 at Joliet, 661 in all; and in the following year, August 24, 1860, the penitentiary at Alton was finally abandoned.

Joliet.

At the meeting of the next General Assembly, in 1861, the subject of prison management was brought conspicuously forward again, and a most strenuous and general effort was made to abolish the lease system and to relieve the State from the power of a faction who were said to have dominated not only the penitentiary, but the policy and politics of the State for a period of thirty years. Although this movement was again defeated, the agitation and discussion which it created aroused such a popular sentiment against the lease system that this period may properly be regarded as the beginning of the end of this worst of all forms of prison administration.

In their report to this legislature, 1861, the commissioners appointed to superintend the construction of the penitentiary at Joliet took occasion to express the following views:

"Although it was not contemplated in our appointment as commissioners that we should look after the internal and police arrangements of the penitentiary, we feel called upon at this time to make some suggestions as to the future of this institution. The present laws in regard to the penitentiary are entirely inadequate, and we believe the convicts will never hereafter be leased to any one person. By no means should the lessee or contractor be appointed warden, or to any office appertaining to the prison; for the pecuniary interests of such contractors are at variance to some extent with the reformation of convicts. * * * We wish to impress upon the General Assembly the necessity of preparing a code of laws for the general government of the penitentiary at the expiration of the present lease in 1863."

To this end they recommended a legislative or other committee to visit and examine other institutions in the country and report such a code as should be deemed best.

In February, a law was passed requiring the commissioners who had suggested it to prepare such a code of laws and rules for the government of the penitentiary, to be submitted to the next General Assembly; a law was also passed abolishing the office of superintendent and restoring to the warden all the duties as to discipline and internal management conferred by the act of 1845, subject to the general supervision of a board of commissioners.

In their next report, 1862, the commissioners, referring to the completion of certain shops, urge their necessity for future use "when the State shall have adopted the more humane policy of

conducting its prisons with a view to the reformation of the convict as well as his punishment." Subsequently they take occasion to say "that in their opinion the clothing with irresponsible power of those who are wholly interested in the pecuniary results of the labor of convicts is alike incompatible with the ends of justice and the well-being of the unfortunate convict."

Two years later the report of the commission appointed for that purpose was made to the legislature of 1863, embodying the results of their observations and inquiries in other States. The whole system of leasing public prisons and their inmates for purely business purposes, merely to save the public purse, was condemned in the strongest terms, and advanced ground was taken for prison reform.

To carry out their plan a bill was presented which was believed to embody the best provisions from a number of the laws governing such institutions in the older States—all of which had been carefully tested, and their results accurately ascertained. But two systems of management had, so far as the commissioners were advised, ever prevailed in this country, the "lease system" and the "State management system;" the former had originally been adopted by a majority of the States, but had subsequently been abandoned by all the free States except Illinois. They assumed that upon the expiration of the present lease, in June, that system would be abolished in this State, and gave many cogent reasons why it should be; among others, that "any system which has not the two-fold object of reformation and punishment in view is a disgrace to the age in which we live."

The proposed bill prohibited any officer of the penitentiary from being pecuniarily interested in any way in any business conducted in the penitentiary, and made the holding of any such interest ground for removal.

The disciplinary and business management was to rest in a warden, appointed by the Governor, and associated with three inspectors. Convicts might be hired in any number not exceeding 200 in any one contract, and for any time not exceeding five years. All convicts not contracted for according to these provisions should be hired or employed by the warden in such manner as he might deem most conducive to the interests of the State.

Notwithstanding the extended preliminary labors of this commission, and the conceded wisdom of their conclusions as embodied in the proposed law, and in spite of all the concurrent testimony and popular sentiment against the lease system, and in favor of a change,

the final action of this legislature was simply to confirm the vicious practices of the past by the issue of another lease for the term of six years to James M. Pitman, upon substantially the same conditions as had been imposed by the old act of 1845. Pitman promptly assigned this lease, and the privilege of being warden, to Buckmaster, and thus another term of the profit-making, serf system was inaugurated. Public sentiment was, however, too advanced and pronounced now to allow the matter to rest, and one of the first acts of the succeeding legislature was the appointment of a Senate investigating committee to inquire into the methods by which the Pitman lease had been obtained.

As to this, testimony was taken showing corrupt collusion on the part of those interested in the lease, with members of the former legislature, and more especially with one of the commissioners who had originally denounced the leasing system, and joined in framing and advocating the new law for the government of the penitentiary.

The committee declared that the assignment of his lease by Pitman was illegal; that Buckmaster could not become warden as assignee; that it was the duty of the commissioners to assume control of the penitentiary; and that the General Assembly should declare the lease forfeited, and provide for the appointment of a warden, and the resumption of the administration of the affairs of the prison.

It was incidentally developed by the testimony of the bookkeeper of the lessees that the profits under the lease and building contracts for the five years ended in 1863 were \$250,000.

These developments, however, were barren of results, and Mr. Buckmaster continued in power as lessee, warden and contractor upon the still unfinished buildings.

At the next session of the legislature in 1867 Governor Oglesby returned to the subject and reaffirmed the opinion that the assignment of the Pitman lease to Buckmaster did not make the latter warden, and that the State was without a representation at the penitentiary; and that there ought to be some one there not only to look after the property of the State, but after the discipline and treatment of prisoners.

Anticipating the expiration of the existing lease in 1869, this legislature proceeded to make a new lease somewhat modified in its terms, but essentially the same in its operation as former leases, but to a new firm, and for a term of 8 years from June, 1869.

A crisis, however, was culminating in prison matters at this period, hastened by circumstances beyond legislative control. These were the results largely of the disturbed condition of society succeeding the late war, causing not only large accessions to the number of convicts, but also grave complications in the business affairs of the country.

Not only was the last mentioned lease never to become operative, but even the unexpired lease as to which there had been so much controversy, was now approaching an untimely end.

In January, 1867, Buckmaster and Company, assignees of the Pitman lease which had now over two years to run, assigned their rights and privileges under the lease to several parties styled the Illinois Manufacturing Company. On the 12th of June succeeding, this company announced to the Governor their determination to abandon their lease, and with it all responsibility for the penitentiary and its inmates, on and after the 30th of that month.

In brief the company was bankrupt; prison labor was no longer making money for the lessees, and they demanded to be relieved from further losses.

There had already been two sessions of the XXVth General Assembly at this date, the second being just about to close. Governor Oglesby at once issued a proclamation convening that body again on the 14th of June to meet this emergency.

In his message the Governor recites that the terms of the lease of 1863 had utterly failed to provide for the maintenance or management of the penitentiary in case the lessee or any of his assignees or successors should choose to abandon the custody and care of the convicts, and that the State was powerless, save to accept the situation and prepare to assume immediate control. Three plans were presented by the executive:

1. To lease the labor of the convicts again, giving the lessees possession of the penitentiary.
2. To provide by contract for hiring out the labor of convicts, the State retaining the custody and care of prisoners and property.
3. To employ the convicts for account of the State, under State management and control.

In this connection Governor Oglesby said: "The opinion is very generally entertained that it is the best policy, as well as the duty of the State, to retain the management and control of its convict labor; that it is unchristian and in conflict with public morals to condemn men to terms of punishment and afterwards to lease or

hire out such convicts to private parties for private gain; that the same duty which imposes upon the State the obligation to suppress crime, * * * * requires the State to retain the control and custody of its criminals. The power which imposes the penalty should alone inflict the punishment. * * * * It is a very serious question * * * * whether for the future it is not the duty of the State to take the control of the penitentiary and manage the labor of the convicts, and dispense with the services of all intermediates, whose object can never be either the punishment or reformation of the criminal, but merely the realization of profit from his labor."

The report of a joint committee, appointed to examine into the details of the situation, affords some explanations of the causes for the failure of the latest assignees. "Since the present assignees have had possession, the expenses of maintaining the convicts and of keeping them employed have considerably exceeded the profits of their labor. These losses were occasioned by the high prices of subsistence and the depressed condition of the market." Mr. Buckmaster, in his testimony before the committee, said the reason the penitentiary was not as remunerative as formerly was that times had changed; that the number of convicts was greater than could be profitably worked; and that they were the worst class of convicts he had seen in thirty years. They were sent from the counties as paupers, and "are wooden-legged, one-armed, broken down, in short really no men at all." He expresses the belief that a prison run on State account must fail, because of political changes and influences in the management.

Mr. Burns, one of the latest proprietors, testified that "the concern is losing money every day it runs; the labor is not paying for its support;" and further, that "there is no other outcome for it [but failure], in my estimation, on the terms under which we are running it now—feeding, clothing, and guarding the prisoners for their labor, with ten or eleven hundred men in the prison. I don't think it in the power of man to make them pay for themselves inside these walls." Also, "I have done everything in my power to sublease these men, or a portion of them, offering them at very low rates indeed, barely enough for their subsistence, and failed in that." He also states that he could not sell his goods, nor get credit to carry them.

Mr. Sanger also stated that stone-masons refused to lay prison-cut stone, and that the workmen in the packing houses refused to use prison-made barrels.

The deputy warden testified that out of 1,021 prisoners 800 were wounded in the army or otherwise incapacitated. Some of them could do light work, but more of them were a mere burden to the institution.

In addition to this, it was developed by the testimony of many, that the failure was due in a large measure to the loose and inadequate discipline of the institution, occasioned in part by the frequent changes in ownership and management, and in part by the sudden influx of convicts, and the consequent over-crowding of shops and cells. A volume of testimony was taken by the committee, covering the details of the present situation, and the methods of the retiring management. It was found that virtually nothing except the naked walls and the naked convicts remained to the State. All the machinery, tools, fixtures, stock, furniture, beds and bedding, dishes, and the clothing on the backs of the prisoners, was the property, not of the State, but of private persons. Even the guards, overseers and officials were simply the employes of an insolvent firm about to retire precipitately alike from its obligations and responsibilities.

The legislature being thus confronted with a wrecked and demoralized institution, the final fruit of a vicious system which had been fostered by private interests, in the legislatures of thirty years, now gave themselves to the task of compiling a code of laws, and defining a system of prison management which should meet both the present emergency, and the future requirements of a modern penal institution. The situation admitted of no delay, and of but little deliberation. Barely two weeks notice had been given them to make an investigation into the complicated affairs of this insolvent concern, to discuss and decide upon its future policy, and to reorganize and take possession of it in behalf of the State.

Overtures were made by several parties to take the penitentiary again under a lease, but these received little consideration. The sentiment was for a radical reformation of the prison system in Illinois and for a comprehensive law providing for State control and management, not only of the penitentiary at Joliet, but also of the proposed Southern penitentiary for which appropriations had recently been made.

Such a general law was passed on the 28th of June, two days before the officers created by it were to assume their duties; and this law, subsequently remodeled in 1871, its principal features be-

ing retained, has been the code under which both of the penitentiaries in this State have since been managed.

This date, the 1st of July, 1867, is conspicuous in the prison annals of the State as marking the demise of the lease system. In some of its forms it had characterized the entire history of the prison, and for twenty-eight consecutive years it had been in active practice. The evils of the system were many and patent, yet the system with all its evils survived the assaults of philanthropists and people, with active vitality, as long as money could be made out of it; and only collapsed when it failed to return profits to those whom it had enriched.

The State, though a party to this profit system, can hardly be considered to have been a beneficiary from it. The institution at Alton had been suffered to lapse into decay and ruin under its operation, while the cost to the State of the new penitentiary was something over a million dollars, upon an estimate of just half that amount. All contemporary opinion confirms the modern judgment that at any period during the life of the system, a judicious State management would have secured better results, even in money returns, than were realized from a system whose sole justification was that it made more money for the State than the State could make for itself.

As to the moral and physical condition of prisoners during this period, probably the best, as it is the only disinterested testimony, is in the impressive memorial made to the General Assembly by the zealous humanitarian, Miss Dix. Her indictment of the practices and conditions at Alton was formulated in twenty-two specific counts, embracing deficiencies in buildings, in diet, clothing, medical attendance, religious instruction, discipline, the preservation of records, etc. Concurrent and subsequent testimony is not wanting to show the manifold evils of this system within and without the walls.

But back of the system was the policy which permitted and fostered it. That policy was to get out of the criminal all the money it might cost to maintain him. The standing formula in all the leases was "that the State should be held harmless" for any charges involved in his detention; and the defense set up by every official was that the lease was the simplest and easiest method of thus relieving the State of its trust. The welfare of citizens, and the morals of communities, and the protection of society by the reformation of the convict, were all freely sacrificed to this motive. Yet,

even as a money-saving plan it was a failure hardly less conspicuous than as a system of wise and humane management.

THE ILLINOIS PENITENTIARY UNDER THE PUBLIC ACCOUNT SYSTEM,—
1867-1871.

The act to provide for the management of the penitentiary at Joliet, passed by the General Assembly in extra session, June, 1867, contemplated, first of all, State superintendence, ownership and control, and the entire divorcement of the official force from any pecuniary interest in the labor of convicts. The *personnel* of the management consisted of three commissioners, a warden, deputy warden, clerk and steward, all officers of the State, and charged with the care, control and discipline of convicts, the custody of the property and the financial policy of the institution.

As to the latter, however, the discretion of the commissioners was clearly defined in the law. They were directed to advertise for proposals for thirty days "for the hire of the labor of convicts in such numbers and for such periods as they may think advisable, not *not exceeding two years.*" If the bids made should be "less than a fair and reasonable compensation for the labor," the commissioners might in their discretion decline to contract at the rates offered, but should immediately advertise again for another period of thirty days for new proposals. After this, in case they still failed to receive satisfactory bids, and could not employ the convicts advantageously upon the buildings and grounds of the institution, it was made the duty of the commissioners "to provide for their employment in such manufacturing or mechanical business on behalf of the State as in their judgment will be most remunerative to the State," and for that purpose they were authorized to purchase machinery, tools, fixtures, materials, etc.

It was clearly the purpose of the legislature in framing the law to inaugurate the contract system, but at the same time to permit a trial of the public account system in certain contingences.

The sum of \$300,000 was appropriated to meet present and possible emergencies.

Temporary arrangements were made for the restraint and employment of prisoners until such time as the contracts could be let; but on opening the bids, the offers were found so low that only two contracts, one for 30 cigar makers at 51 cents per day, and one for 75 boot and shoe men at 50 cents a day, were accepted. It was claimed that the perscribed term of two years was so short that

contractors would not bid, and after advertising again and receiving no bids at all, the commissioners were reduced to the necessity, under the law, of providing for the employment of convicts by and for the State. They accordingly purchased machinery, tools, stock, etc., of the late lessees, contracted for the subsistence of 1,162 prisoners, put in new machinery and enlarged and altered shops to suit the new conditions.

Seventeen months later, January, 1869, the first report was made of the results of this experiment. The financial statement showed a net excess of assets over liabilities of \$2,508, upon an investment by the State of a capital equivalent to \$250 per capita.

Commenting upon this the commissioners advise that more capital should be put into it, if it is to be made *permanently* successful, and add, "With an increase of actual capital, and a judicious management of its business affairs, we have no question of its being able at an early day to earn enough to pay all its expenses and even to become a source of revenue to the State." As to the *morale* of the institution it is reported that owing to the conflict of authority with contractors as to discipline "more annoyance and confusion originates in the contract shops among one hundred men than in all the rest of the penitentiary. * * * Far better would it be if the State should entirely abolish the contract system and operate the entire labor of the prison." In their own justification the commissioners revert to the task which had been imposed upon them, in the following words: "It must not be forgotten that we have been entrusted with a great *experiment*; that we have had only seventeen months trial under unfavorable circumstances; that during the first three months while vainly endeavoring to contract the labor of the convicts, the institution was under heavy expense; that a large expenditure was necessary for machinery, tools and stock; that the increase of prisoners called for an enlargement of operating facilities; that owing to the dilapidated condition of the State machinery a large amount was required for repairs; that serious delay and embarrassment was occasioned by the occurrence of three fires in the buildings."

Governor Oglesby in his message to the legislature of this date, referring to prison matters, says: "The State for the first time occupied its own penitentiary on the first of July, 1867. Up to that time the sum of \$1,075,000 had been expended upon its erection. * * * Two systems had been provided for by the recent general law, the contract system and the State account system. The first,

after a fair and somewhat expensive test, twice tried, failed; and the latter was the only resort of the commissioners. * * I believe I am justified in saying that the affairs of the penitentiary have been properly managed. Integrity and a faithful attention to duties have been the maxims steadily observed by the commissioners, warden and other officials of the institution. Experience satisfies me that the present is the best system, and I believe that time will demonstrate that no other system will prove so acceptable or so just, humane and expedient."

Another appropriation of \$800,000 was made for working capital and necessary outlays.

This fair beginning, however, failed of the good results which were expected of it. But whether that failure was occasioned by causes inherent in the system or by conditions entirely outside the system is a question deserving consideration.

A deficit of \$92,000 was shown in the accounts of the penitentiary at the close of the next biennial period, January, 1871, and a depreciation in value of stock and material equal to \$65,000.

In explanation of this condition of affairs the officers of the institution, the Governor in his message, and a committee of investigation all contribute very full information to the General Assembly and the public.

From these sources it is everywhere made apparent that the conditions under which the business was conducted during this period were extraordinary rather than normal; that there was great depreciation in prices and values; and an unsettled market, occasioned by financial disturbances throughout the country, which the management could not foresee nor control, and which overwhelmed many private enterprises backed by brains, capacity and wealth.

Added to these influences operating upon the general business interests of the country the penitentiary management was also embarrassed by dissensions among the commissioners, both as to matters of policy and the choice of a warden, as is indicated in the following statement of the disaffected commissioner in a minority report to the Governor: "Had the discipline [as maintained by a former warden] been continued during the present year, I have no doubt that we would to-day present your excellency with a report showing not only a self-sustaining institution, but proof that the whipping post, etc., are not indispensable to good discipline;" and later, that "To this laxity [of discipline] can be traced in large measure the great financial loss to the State."

On the other hand the majority complain of repeated attacks by the press, and of efforts on the part of interested persons to impair the credit of the institution, and make this significant allusion. "So long as the penitentiary is regarded by money making adventurers as a prize which they may hope to gain possession of at any session of the legislature, it is a question whether it is possible to render the institution self-sustaining."

Governor Palmer, referring to the disagreement of the commissioners and its injurious effect upon the discipline of the prison, says that this "accounts to a great extent for the failure of the present management to achieve success." As to the expediency of changing the present system he also says. "There is no doubt that the penitentiary may be made self-sustaining under the present system of State control," and recommends:

"*First*—That a single officer be entrusted with the management.

"*Second*—That the management be disconnected from partisan politics.

"*Third*—That sufficient salaries be paid to secure the services of the most capable men. As a business enterprise it can only be well managed by a business man of the largest capacity and experience."

Referring to the disadvantages under which the experiment of State control had been inaugurated, the Governor adds: "It must be remembered, however, that the penitentiary was thrown upon the care of the State by able business men who, as lessees, could no longer carry it on without a loss, owing to the constant depression of values."

Some efforts were again made at this crisis by the Buckmaster interest to obtain possession of the penitentiary under another lease, but no action was taken by the legislature on penitentiary matters until it was reconvened in May by proclamation of Governor Palmer, who again pointed out the necessity of investigation and legislation on this subject.

This led during the extra session to a modification of the general law and the appointment of an investigating committee instructed to make an exhaustive inquiry into the details of the situation at Joliet. The report of this committee, submitted to the legislature at its adjourned session in the following winter, 1872, constitutes the most complete exposition of prison matters, both fiscal and managerial, which is found upon the public records.

Summarized in brief this report disclosed a net loss to the State

during four years and five months of management on the State account system of \$314,212.

The causes which had led to this result are stated categorically as six:

1. Inexperienced and incompetent management.
2. Want of harmony in the management.
3. Depreciation of property and of manufactured articles, experienced alike by all persons engaged in manufacturing during the same period.
4. Want of stability in the plans of management and changes in officers and subordinates.
5. Loose and careless manner during the first two years of purchasing and receiving goods.
6. The payment of large amounts as interest, made necessary by lack of capital and credit.

These six good and sufficient reasons are clearly reducible to two—mismanagement and the general decline in prices and values which characterized the times. While both these baneful agencies contributed to defeat the system under trial, either one of them, it is needless to say, was and is quite enough to jeopardize any business enterprise within or without the walls of a penitentiary.

Private enterprises were daily being wrecked during this period solely by the fluctuations in values, though under the ablest management, whereas the administration of the penitentiary at this time was confessedly inexperienced, and was handicapped at the outset by a demoralized force within the walls, by a despoiled and abandoned plant and a falling market; and subsequently by internal dissensions, by hostile outside interests and an impaired credit.

It is not surprising that under these circumstances the public account system of prison management should have proved a financial failure upon its first and only trial in this State. All the essentials of success, a normal condition of affairs to begin with, experience and harmony of action in the directory, a sufficient working capital and a stable market were wanting, and there was nothing but failure, from the profit-making standpoint, possible.

As to the standard of discipline maintained during this *regime* it was developed by the committee that it had been very low at times, but varied with the change of wardens, though the commissioners reported the principal difficulties as having arisen in the contract

shops, owing to frequent conflicts of authority with agents of the contractors.

During this period—1867-72—the number of prisoners had increased from 1,073 to 1,339, a large number of whom, variously given as from two to three hundred, were incapacitated more or less by reason of wounds or disability incurred in the army.

At the beginning of this year what few contracts there had been were expired, and it was found impossible to renew them. The labor of the institution was directed in the following channels under the management of the prison officers: Stone quarrying and cutting, the manufacture of agricultural implements, wagons, cooperage, chairs, brooms, cigars, harness and army tents, and there were machine and blacksmith shops, a foundry and a tailor shop.

At the close of the report of the investigating committee the significant admission is made that “during the last year the loss has been comparatively small, and that during the last three months the institution has undoubtedly been self-sustaining.”

The last three months referred to were those in which the newly inaugurated contract system had been in operation, yet the whole year is spoken of as having been a prosperous one, and the query is pertinent whether a new era of prosperity had not really dawned upon the institution before the new policy was inaugurated.

However that may be, this memorable experiment of State management for State account has gone upon the record as a costly failure, and it is quoted as a demonstration of the impracticability of the system; whereas nothing was demonstrated by that trial except the inability of those managers upon whom the responsibility fell to redeem from ruin an abandoned business enterprise and place it upon a paying basis at a time of unusual complications in the finances of the country.

THE ILLINOIS PENITENTIARIES UNDER THE CONTRACT SYSTEM— 1871-1886.

For a period of fifteen years the penitentiaries of Illinois have been conducted upon what is known as the contract system of prison labor, and that system has commended itself in general, so far as *financial* results are concerned, to all classes of the people. Both the Northern and Southern prisons have been virtually self-sustaining during that period, and in point of equipment, discipline and management they compare favorably with any penal institutions in the country. All that can be claimed for the contract system finds

its fullest illustration and vindication in the practice and experience of these institutions under that system.

But the system itself is now challenged, as indeed it has often been before, though never, perhaps, with so much emphasis and persistence. It is challenged by prison reformers upon humanitarian grounds; by the industrial classes upon economic grounds, and by an awakened popular sentiment as a practice of questionable public policy.

The system of contracting or hiring out to individuals or firms the labor of convicts, within the walls, at a given rate per diem per capita, the State reserving possession of the buildings and the custody of prisoners, became the settled policy of the State in 1871, in the fortieth year of the history of the institution, and after an experience of other systems which it was believed sufficiently condemned them.

In revising the general law in 1871 governing the institution the chief feature of divergence from the old law was in extending the term for which convicts might be let from two to eight years, and virtually requiring that they *should be let*, and not employed upon State account, except temporarily, while negotiations were pending for the most favorable terms the commissioners could make with contractors.

Under this rule the convicts were readily disposed of as follows:

To Selz & Co., boots and shoes, 250 men for 5 years, at 65c a day.

Winterbotham, cooperage, 165 men for 5½ years, at 70½c a day.

Hardy & Short, harness, 30 men for 5 years, at 75c a day.

Ohio Butt Co., butts, 85 men for 8 years, at 65c a day.

Fuller Cigar Co., cigars, 225 men for — years, for \$3.25 per M.

In addition to these there were about 300 men employed in the stone department, quarrying and cutting stone for the new State House, who were reported as earning about \$1.00 a day each, but whom it was advised to let as soon as possible, because of the demand for stone occasioned by the Chicago fire.

The first report under this system, in 1873, shows an excess of earnings over expenses, and a satisfactory financial status. The Commissioners, however, are still confronted with the old complaints against the system, and make the old plea of profits, in extenuation of it, as follows: "There may be doubts, and some of the best prison authorities have doubts about the propriety of leasing the labor of convicts, but it seems to the Commissioners the only method to make the labor of convicts *profitable to the State*."

* * * There is among the trades a certain opposition to prison labor, but we are loth to believe that the labor of a thousand or more men can have any perceptible influence upon the great labor market."

Again in 1875, a suggestion of doubt as to the wisdom of the system, though still presenting a satisfactory balance sheet, is permitted to appear in the report of the Commissioners, who say:

"The penitentiary has become a *paying institution*, but, as to whether the two important objects, the repression of crime, and the reformation of the criminal, can be most largely accomplished

* * * under the contract system, is still an undecided question among the most experienced and enlightened prison men of the world."

At this period, however, some complaints were made of a general depression in business, on account of which some contractors had suffered, though there had been no impairment of the prison revenues. But two years later, in 1877, owing to the continued depression in trade and manufactures, some of the contractors were compelled to keep their men in idleness, as less disastrous than accumulating products, and others asked and received credit for 25 per cent. of their labor bills; yet there was still a small net excess of earnings over expenses shown in the accounts of the prison management as rendered.

In view, apparently, of the possible failure of the management to make profits uniformly, or even to pay expenses, the Commissioners of this date enter a strong protest against the whole theory of making the penitentiary self-sustaining first, and reformatory afterwards, using the following emphatic language. "It is humiliating to know that State authorities look with favor only upon the fact that a prison is self-supporting, to the utter disregard of the reformation of its inmates. An epidemic seems to have taken hold upon legislators and prison managers which prevents the adoption of a system founded upon a more enlightened humanity, for the asserted reason that the State must not be burdened with the cost of either the support, punishment or reformation of its convict class. If our penitentiary is to be operated solely with a view to rendering it self-sustaining regardless of benefit to the convict while there, then will the indiscriminate herding together of its convict population render it more a school for crime than anything else."

These Commissioners were superseded at this period, under a change in the administration of the State government, and the con-

dition of affairs in the penitentiary as found and reported subsequently by their successors, was hardly as gratifying from a business point of view as had been represented.

The new Commissioners took possession in May 1877, and in the words of their report "found a large surplus of convicts not contracted for, and, in a majority of contracts then existing, the monthly labor bills were not being paid in full. * * * The expenses were exceeding the earnings about \$1000 a week."

Upon thirty days notice all contracts on which the labor bills were overdue were annulled. New proposals were advertised for, but all bids of less than 50 cents a day were rejected, because, in the opinion of the Commissioners, a less sum than that would not render the prison self-sustaining.

In the stone department the contractor having failed to make his payments, his stock of tools, material and appliances was taken possession of, and his contract canceled. Subsequently, having failed to receive an offer of more than 45 cents a day for the labor of the men, the commissioners reorganized the department, employed a manager, and by working the force on State account were able to realize 66 cents a day for every man employed. At the time of their report, 1879, the Commissioners declare that the "stone department is earning more money per convict than any other department of the prison."

Governor Cullom, in his message of this date, says: "The indebtedness of the penitentiary in September, 1878, was \$50,596, which amount should be appropriated and the debts paid without delay. This prison has been self-supporting since last summer, but when the present commission took control, and for a year afterwards, it was overcrowded with convicts, and in the general depression of business it was impossible to secure work of any kind at any price for several hundred of them."

From this date to the present the business management of the penitentiary has been substantially successful in relieving the State of any charge for the maintenance of its criminals at Joliet. The sum of \$50,000 has been appropriated biennially to cover any expenses which might be incurred in excess of the receipts from the labor of convicts, but this sum has been drawn upon in decreasing amounts. In the term ending 1881, \$22,840 was drawn from this reserve fund; in the next period of two years \$10,000 only was expended; and during the term ending in 1885, the whole amount remained intact in the treasury.

Various appropriations of minor amounts have been made for the repair and restoration of buildings, now more than twenty years old, and for such internal improvements as have from time to time been necessary, but for the guarding, clothing, subsisting and discharging of an average population of 1,300 criminals and for many extraordinary expenses incidental to the management of so large an institution, the revenues have been derived from the proceeds of convict labor under the contract system.

THE SOUTHERN PENITENTIARY.

The penitentiary at Chester, or the Southern Penitentiary, was established in 1878 and was organized for working on the contract system. All the laws, rules and regulations prescribed for the management of the penitentiary at Joliet were given equal force at Chester, making the systems in both places uniform.

One of the claims, however, urged in favor of the location at Chester was that good facilities were there offered for the employment of convicts in the manufacture of macadam for rip-raps, dikes and jetties in the course of construction along the Mississippi river by the general government. This, it was urged, would afford opportunities for employing convict labor in a way which would not conflict with the skilled mechanics of the State. One hundred men were readily let to a business firm for this purpose at 50 cents a day, and the warden in his first report says: "The prospect of making the penitentiary self-sustaining when it is once fully equipped is most flattering."

The greater part of the convicts were, however, employed in the work of construction during the earlier history of this institution. In April, 1882, a surplus of convicts being on hand, the Commissioners advertised, as required by law, for proposals for their labor, and, as a consequence, subsequently contracted with a Peoria firm for the labor of 225 men, at 51 cents a day, to be employed in the manufacture of boots and shoes. In December of the same year a contract was also made to furnish from 60 to 100 men, to another firm, at 77 cents a day, to be employed in making brick.

Referring to these contracts, and the law requiring them to be made, the Commissioners express the opinion, in their report, "that the State itself could advantageously employ all the prisoners confined here in getting out rip-rap, paving blocks, curbing, etc., and in making brick." They therefore submit "whether it would not be better to abolish the contract system, at least so far as this prison is concerned, and employ the prisoners at this work, thus preventing their labor coming in conflict with mechanics who are

engaged in skilled labor. Such a system would also admit of grading and classifying the prisoners, with a view to their moral improvement, as seems impossible under our present contract system."

No action, however, having been taken on this suggestion, twice made by the Commissioners, another contract was subsequently made for 125 men for employment at foundry work. Meanwhile prisoners not engaged in work under contract, or on construction or prison duties, have been profitably employed in the stone quarry.

This prison is still in process of construction, and has never as yet been actually self-sustaining, owing to the large number of men necessarily employed in work for the State.

POPULAR HOSTILITY TO CONVICT LABOR.

Throughout the history of the penal institutions of Illinois, and under all the systems which have flourished or failed, one class of citizens, it is seen, has uniformly been restive and unconsenting to the policy of the State.

Beginning with the vigorous remonstrance of the citizens of Alton, over forty years ago, against the employment of convicts at work which honest men wanted to do, the voice of those whom the State has been despoiling of business opportunities, or the means of livelihood, has continually been heard whenever the subject of prison economy has been under legislative consideration or popular discussion. They have not failed to receive recognition, for their memorials have been duly placed upon the records, and the equity of their case has been repeatedly conceded in reports of investigating committees, in executive messages, and in the utterances of public men; but this recognition has not taken the form of the public act which gives relief.

Practically other considerations have been permitted to obscure this issue, and more potent influences have ultimately governed when legislative action was consummated. Whether under the lease system, or the State account experiment, or the contract system, the labor of the prison has in fact been uniformly directed into those channels which offered the best financial results, regardless of consequences to outside industry, or of any other consequences.

It has been seen how, in the past, the State has stumbled in its pursuit of satisfactory financial result; how prisoners and people have been sacrificed in that pursuit, while the speculator alone has obtained the satisfactory results. Later, however, the business problem has been substantially solved. The possibility of a self-supporting prison, at least in prosperous periods, and under judi-

cious control, is established. It is even possible that our penitentiaries, under the undisturbed operation of the contract system, may be made to earn dividends on the investments in buildings and property, and thus present to the State an annual profit upon the crimes committed against society.

But this achievement does not and can not settle the convict labor question, nor the problem of prison reform; it has rather emphasized the former, and made the latter more imperative.

In learning this costly lesson as to the adjustment of cash balances, it is possible the State has been too much absorbed to note the effect of its operation upon its own industries, or to give due consideration to that portion of its people *not* incarcerated within prison walls. That class, however, has not been idle nor silent. As the population of the prisons has increased in numbers and efficiency, and as the facilities for production have become enlarged, and the revenues from the prison workshops swollen, the complacency of the prison management has not been shared by all the people. On the other hand, as the markets have grown dull, and prices low, and profits small, and wages smaller, there have been manufacturers without the walls who envied those within, and workmen who could not earn the comforts the convicts had. By such as these the old cry of the people of Alton has been kept alive, and as the industrial depression of recent years has become more oppressive, and every hindrance to honest effort and its legitimate reward more irksome, the remonstrance of those thus discriminated against has increased in vehemence.

A new phase of the recent situation, however, is found in the attack made upon the contract system through the beneficiaries of it, by creating a popular prejudice against prison-made goods. The sale of the labor of convicts to contractors must depend upon the willingness of the contractor to buy, and that upon his ability to sell the product of the convict's labor. If that is impaired the whole system must fall, for whenever the contractor finds his business unprofitable, the contract system will collapse as the lease system for the same reason collapsed before it.

The system is thus imperilled by a popular movement against it which may affect its overthrow, independent of legislative action; in which event there would no longer be a deliberative option as to a new system of penal labor, but an absolute necessity for one, precipitated by a crisis like that which characterized the downfall of the lease system.

It is true many regard this crusade against prison contracts as a transient demonstration without significance, but others foresee that a system assaulted so continuously and earnestly by such diverse and potent interests must and should be abandoned for a broader and wiser plan.

Having thus sketched the history of the prison systems of this State, and the growth of the sentiment against the present system, and the reasons for that sentiment, it is pertinent to make some inquiry into the systems of neighboring States and the country at large.

It is apparent at once that the question is broader than any State boundaries, and is really national in character though practically beyond national jurisdiction. But while the solution of all convict labor problems must rest with the several States, and while the most any State can do is to apply local treatment within its own borders, it is still impossible for any State to wholly protect itself by its own action. Thus the attitude and action of every other State on this question of common concern becomes of vital interest and importance.

This consideration has justified the procuring and compiling the prison statistics not only of this State but of the whole country, so far as they refer to systems of labor, and the results are presented in the following chapter.

CHAPTER II.

STATISTICS OF PRISON LABOR IN THE UNITED STATES.

The following tabulation of the statistics of labor in prisons is compiled from the most recent official returns obtainable from the institutions named, and is designed to embrace all the penal institutions of the country in which productive industries are carried on. While it may be true that some local institutions properly belonging in this category do not appear in the tables, the exhibit is practically comprehensive of all the prison industries of the United States.

Some returns have been exceedingly difficult to get, and in a few instances, especially in the Southern States, it has been impossible to procure exact data from the prison authorities themselves. In such cases recourse has been had to whatever sources of information were available in order to perfect the presentation, and the summaries arrived at are doubtless substantially correct in all essential particulars.

Briefly stated, these tables present the statistics of 108 penal and reformatory institutions, in 44 States and Territories, and containing a total of 57,331 inmates. The classification of these institutions shows 47 State prisons, with 35,138 prisoners; 30 local prisons, work-houses, houses of correction, etc., with 13,112 inmates; 20 reform and industrial schools, with a population of 5,963; 7 United States prisons, with 979 prisoners, and four houses of refuge, with 2,139 inmates.

The enumeration of the Tenth Census developed a total prison population in the United States, confined in penitentiaries, work-houses, houses of correction, reformatories, and in camps, of 55,211. This is exclusive, however, of 14,860 inmates of jails, lockups and station-houses, who are for the most part transient prisoners and not under employment.

Compared with the census summary of 55,211 inmates of the specified classes of prisons in 1880, the total here presented of 57,331 inmates of corresponding institutions in 1886, must be regarded as sufficiently comprehensive to show all material facts concerning the extent and character of prison industries throughout the country.

Table I gives the name and location of each of the 108 institutions, classified by States; and for each, shows the total population, the number at work, the character of the work and the method of employment; and the number idle for want of employment and other reasons.

TABLE I—Convicts in Prison and at Work—By States.

OCCUPATIONS OF CONVICTS IN THE PENAL INSTITUTIONS OF THE UNITED STATES.	PRIS'N POP- ULATION.			PRISONERS AT WORK.			IDLE.		METHOD OF EMPLOYMENT.			
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	For want of employ- ment	For other reasons	Under contract	Under lease	Place price plan	Public account and prison duties
ALABAMA	867	32	899	867	32	899				863		36
<i>Penitentiary—Wetumpka</i>	867	32	899	867	32	899				863		36
Farming				70	17	87				87		
Mining				708	5	713				713		
Quarrying				59	4	63				63		
Prison duties				30	6	36						36
ARKANSAS	582	15	597	582	15	597				597		
<i>Penitentiary—Little Rock</i>	582	15	597	582	15	597				597		
Coal mining, constructing railroads, plantation				291		291				291		
Farm implements, harness, wagons				291	15	306				306		
CALIFORNIA	1607	14	1621	1547	14	1561		60			769	792
<i>State Prison—San Quintin</i>	1143	12	1155	1103	12	1115		40			416	699
Brick				61		61				61		
Castings				10		10				10		
Doors				191		191				191		
Farm and garden				35		35						35
Furniture				110		110				110		
Harness				27		27				27		
Jute				310		310						310
Laundry				24		24						24
Leather				17		17				17		
Prison duties				318	12	330						330
<i>State Prison—Folsom</i>	464	2	466	444	2	446		20			353	93
Blacksmiths				39		39				39		
Carpenters				11		11				11		
Dressing Granite				103		103				103		
Farm and garden				38		38						38
Quarrying granite				204		204				200		
Prison duties				53	2	55						55
COLORADO	450	5	455	431	3	434		21				434
<i>State Penitentiary—Canon City</i>	360	5	365	341	3	344		21				344
Blacksmiths				13		13						13
Brickyard				25		25						25
Carpenters				10		10						10
Engine house				6		6						6
Lime-kiln				46		46						46
Painters				9		9						9
Quarrying				27		27						27
Sewer				65		65						65
Shoemakers and tailors				26		26						26
Stone yard				10		10						10
Prison duties				104	3	107						107
<i>State Industrial School—Golden</i>	90		90	90		90						90
Bone ash				10		10						10
Brooms				24		24						24
Carpenters				3		3						3
Shoemaking				5		5						5
Tailors				8		8						8
Prison duties				40		40						40

Table I.—Continued.

	PRIS'N POP- ULATION.			PRISONERS AT WORK.			IDLE.		METHOD OF EMPLOYMENT.			
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	For want of employ- ment	For other reasons	Under contract	Under lease	Piece price plan	Public account and prison duties
OCCUPATIONS OF CONVICTS IN THE PENAL INSTITUTIONS OF THE UNITED STATES.												
CONNECTICUT	712	218	930	643	207	850	35	45	200		60	590
State Prison—Wethersfield	299	4	303	230	4	234	35	34	200			34
Boots and shoes				200		200			200			
Prison duties				30	4	34						34
Industrial School for Girls—Middletown		214	214		203	203		11			60	143
Dressmaking					40	40					40	
Laundry					25	25					22	3
Paper boxes					38	38					38	
Prison duties					100	100						100
Reform School—Meriden	413		413	413		413						413
Canning chairs				125		125						125
Farm and garden				40		40					40	
Greenhouse				10		10					10	
Shirts				100		100						100
Shoemaking				10		10					10	
Tailoring				20		20					20	
Prison duties				108		108						108
DELAWARE	86	3	89				89					
County Jails	86	3	89				89					
Dover, Georgetown, New Castle	86	3	89				89					
FLORIDA	197		197	197		197				197		
State Prison—Tallahassee	197		197	197		197				197		
Construction	197		197	197		197				197		
GEORGIA	1620	39	1659	1020	39	1659				1659		
Penitentiary	1620	39	1659	1620	39	1659				1659		
Chopping wood				60		60				60		
Cutting timber and sawing lumber				55		55				55		
Farming				112	13	125				125		
Grading public park				55		55				55		
Grading railroad				289	11	300				300		
Making brick				275		275				275		
Mining coal and burning coke				400	15	415				415		
Mining iron ore and chopping wood				130		130				130		
Quarrying limestone and burning lime				23		23				23		
Quarrying stone for public streets				150		150				150		
Railroad work				50		50				50		
Sawing lumber				21		21				21		
ILLINOIS	3203	118	3321	2730	89	2819	444	58	1873		110	836
Illinois State Penitentiary—Joliet	1583	20	1603	1543	20	1563		40	1304			259
Boots and Shoes				499		499			499			
Cooperage				204		204			204			
Granite works				67		67			67			
Harness and collars				127		127			127			
Knitting and tailoring				61		61			61			
Machinists				37		37						37
Marble work				93		93			93			
Stone work				110		110			110			
Wire and wire fence				143		143			143			
Prison duties				202	20	222			222			

Table I.—Continued.

OCCUPATIONS OF CONVICTS IN THE PENAL INSTITUTIONS OF THE UNITED STATES.	PRIS'N POP- ULATION.			PRISONERS AT WORK.			IDLE.	METHOD OF EMPLOYMENT.					
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total		For want of employ- ment	For other reasons..	Under contract	Under lease	Piece price plan	Public account and prison duties
ILLINOIS—Continued.													
<i>Southern Illinois Penitentiary—Chester.</i>	691	14	705	691	14	705				410			295
Boots and shoes				225		225				225			
Brickmaking				60		60				60			
Construction				155		155							155
Hollow-ware and light castings				125		125				125			
Prison duties				126	14	140							140
<i>Illinois State Reform School—Pontiac.</i>	312		312	297		297	15			159			138
Baking and kitchen				22		22							22
Engine room				5		5							5
Farm and garden				46		46							46
Laundry				15		15							15
Shoemaking—women's				159		159				159			
Tailoring				15		15							15
Prison duties				35		35							35
<i>House of Correction—Chicago</i>	577	69	646	159	40	199	429	18				110	89
Cane-seating chairs				110		110						110	
Improvements and repairs				7		7							
Prison duties				42	40	82							
<i>House of Correction—Peoria</i>	40	15	55	40	15	55							55
Brick and broom making				38		38							38
Prison duties				2	15	17							17
INDIANA													
	1737		1737	1714		1714		23		1172			542
<i>State Prison, North—Michigan City</i>	705		705	682		682		23		642			40
Boots and shoes				127		127				127			
Chairs and cradles				162		162				162			
Cooperage				169		169				169			
Hosiery and woolen goods				184		184				184			
Prison duties													40
<i>State Prison, South—Jeffersonville</i>	596		596	596		596				530			65
Boots and shoes				175		175				175			
Brooms				35		35				35			
Saddle-trees				20		20				20			
Shell hardware				300		300				300			
Prison duties				66		66							66
<i>Reform School for Boys—Plainfield</i>	436		436	436		436							436
Construction, farming, prison duties				436		436							436
IOWA													
	998	13	1011	892	13	905	106			318			587
<i>Penitentiary—Fort Madison</i>	414		414	414		414				318			96
Chairs				104		104				104			
Farming tools				120		120				120			
Shoes				94		94				94			
Prison duties				96		96							96
<i>Penitentiary—Anamosa</i>	294	13	307	294	13	307							307
Blacksmithing				8		8							8
Carpentering				6		6							6
Construction				53		53							53
Seamstresses					11	11							11
Shoemaking				5		5							5
Stone cutting				81		81							81
Stone quarrying				73		73							73
Tailoring				4		4							4
Prison duties				61	2	66							66

Table I.—Continued.

OCCUPATIONS OF CONVICTS IN THE PENAL INSTITUTIONS OF THE UNITED STATES.	PRIS'N POP- ULATION.			PRISONERS AT WORK.			IDLE.		METHOD OF EMPLOYMENT.			
	Males.....	Females.....	Total.....	Males.....	Females.....	Total.....	For other reasons. For want of em- ployment.....	Under contract.....	Under lease.....	Piece price plan.....	Public account and prison duties.....	
IOWA—Continued.												
<i>Industrial School—Eldora</i>	290		290	184		184	106					184
Broom making.....				10		10						10
Farming.....				25		25						25
Gardening.....				30		30						30
Shoemaking.....				20		20						20
Tailoring.....				24		24						24
Prison duties.....				75		75						75
KANSAS	1360	16	1376	1342	16	1358	18		245			1113
<i>State Penitentiary—Lansing</i>	832	16	819	785	16	801	18		245			556
Boots and shoes.....				17		17			30			17
Constructing.....				30		30						212
Furniture.....				212		212						67
Mining coal.....				67		67			67			235
Wagons.....				235		235						148
Prison duties.....				148		148			148			92
<i>U. S. Military Prison—Ft. Leavenworth</i>	557		557	76	16	92						557
Blacksmiths.....				11		11						11
Brooms.....				13		13						13
Carpenters.....				26		26						26
Harness.....				15		15						15
Quarrying.....				180		180						173
Shoes.....				173		173						17
Stone cutters.....				17		17						24
Tailoring.....				24		24						9
Tinware.....				9		9						89
Prison duties.....				89		89						
KENTUCKY	1300	84	1384	1300	84	1384			1142			242
<i>Penitentiary—Frankfort</i>	1104	38	1142	1104	38	1142			1142			
Constructing.....				1104	38	1142			1142			
<i>House of Refuge—Louisville</i>	196	46	242	196	46	242						242
Caning chairs.....				109		109						109
Farm and garden.....				14		14						14
Sewing.....				34		34						34
Shoemaking.....				12		12						12
Prison duties.....				61	12	73						73
LOUISIANA	820	44	864	820	44	864			864			
<i>State Penitentiary—Baton Rouge</i>	820	44	864	820	44	864			864			
Building levees.....				70	44	114			114			
Building railroads.....				750		750			750			
MAINE	180	3	183	174	3	177		6				177
<i>State Prison—Thomaston</i>	180	3	183	174	3	177		6				177
Blacksmiths.....				43		43						43
Carriage making.....				27		27						27
Harness.....				42		42						42
Laborers.....				20	3	23						23
Painters.....				25		25						25
Trimmers.....				8		8						8
Prison duties.....				9		9						9

Table I.—Continued.

OCCUPATIONS OF CONVICTS IN THE PENAL INSTITUTIONS OF THE UNITED STATES.	PRIS'N POP- ULATION.			PRISONERS AT WORK.			IDLE.		METHOD OF EMPLOYMENT.			
	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.	For want of em- ployment.	For other reasons.	Under contract.	Under lease.	Place price plan.	Public account and prison duties.
MARYLAND	1183	31	1214	491	31	522	672	20	439	.....	.....	83
<i>Penitentiary—Baltimore</i>	491	31	522	471	31	502	.....	20	419	.....	.....	83
Marble work.....	153	.....	153	.....	.....	153	.....	.....	.....
Stoves and hollow-ware.....	114	.....	114	.....	.....	114	.....	.....	.....
Woolen boots.....	152	.....	152	.....	.....	152	.....	.....	.....
Prison duties.....	52	31	83	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	83
<i>City Jail—Baltimore</i>	692	.....	692	20	.....	20	672	.....	20	.....	.....	.....
Foundry.....	20	.....	20	.....	.....	20	.....	.....	.....
MASSACHUSETTS	3079	740	3819	2749	649	3398	162	259	649	.....	898	1851
<i>State Prison—Concord</i>	560	.....	560	539	.....	539	.....	21	433	.....	.....	106
Beds.....	14	.....	14	.....	.....	14	.....	.....	.....
Harness.....	50	.....	50	.....	.....	50	.....	.....	.....
Hats.....	314	.....	314	.....	.....	314	.....	.....	.....
Mouldings.....	55	.....	55	.....	.....	55	.....	.....	.....
Public account.....	40	.....	40	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	40
Prison duties.....	66	.....	66	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	66
<i>Reformatory Prison for Women—Sher- born</i>	233	233	.....	198	198	.....	35	.....	.....	135	63
Coats and vests.....	40	.....	40	.....	.....	.....	.....	40	.....
Laundry.....	30	.....	30	.....	.....	.....	.....	30	.....
Shirts.....	65	.....	65	.....	.....	.....	.....	65	.....
Prison duties.....	63	.....	63	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	63
<i>State Workhouse—Bridgewater</i>	290	3	293	135	3	138	155	.....	.....	.....	.....	138
Cobblers.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2
Farming.....	70	.....	70	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	70
Seating chairs.....	33	.....	33	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	33
Sewing.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2
Prison duties.....	30	1	31	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	31
<i>House of Correction—Boston</i>	441	62	503	441	62	503	.....	.....	.....	.....	341	162
Clothing.....	341	.....	341	.....	.....	.....	.....	341	.....
Prison duties.....	100	60	162	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	162
<i>House of Industry—Deer Island</i>	780	360	1140	703	308	1011	.....	129	.....	.....	233	778
Blacksmiths.....	4	.....	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4
Carpenters.....	12	.....	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	12
Farm.....	346	.....	346	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	346
Shirts.....	72	64	136	.....	.....	.....	.....	136	.....
Shoemakers.....	9	.....	9	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	9
Stonecutting.....	97	.....	97	.....	.....	.....	.....	97	.....
Tailors.....	7	.....	7	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	7
Prison duties.....	156	244	400	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	400
<i>House of Correction and Jail—East Cam- bridge</i>	458	28	486	398	24	422	.....	64	.....	.....	.....	422
Blacksmiths.....	4	.....	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4
Brushes.....	301	.....	301	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	301
Carpenters.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	6
Mattresses.....	4	.....	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4
Painters.....	5	.....	5	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	5
Shoemakers.....	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	6
Steampipe-fitters.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2
Tailors.....	5	.....	5	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	5
Tinners.....	3	.....	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3
Prison duties.....	62	24	86	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	86

Table I.—Continued.

OCCUPATIONS OF CONVICTS IN THE PENAL INSTITUTIONS OF THE UNITED STATES.	PRIS'N POP- ULATION.			PRISONERS AT WORK.			IDLE.		METHOD OF EMPLOYMENT.			
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	For want of employ- ment	For other reasons.	Under contract	Under lease	Piece price plan	Public account and prison duties
MASSACHUSETTS—Continued.												
<i>House of Correction—Lawrence</i>	157	21	178	140	21	161	7	10	100			61
Garden.....				15		15						15
Heelmaking.....				48		48			48			
Shoemaking.....				52		52			52			
Prison duties.....				25	21	46						46
<i>Jail and House of Correction—Spring- field</i>	146	18	164	146	18	164			116			48
Cain seating chairs.....				107	9	116			116			
Prison duties.....				39	9	48						48
<i>Lyman School for Boys—Westborough</i>	95		95	95		95					64	31
Seating chairs.....				64		64					64	
Prison duties.....				31		31						31
<i>House of Correction—Worcester</i>	152	15	167	152	15	167					125	42
Seating chairs.....				125		125					125	
Prison duties.....				27	15	42						42
MICHIGAN	2378	250	2628	2377	250	2627		1	900			1727
<i>State Prison—Jackson</i>	785	1	786	785	1	786			551			235
Agricultural tools.....				174		174			174			
Blacksmiths.....				33		33						33
Bone workers.....				6		6						6
Boots and shoes.....				135		135			135			
Brooms.....				46		46			46			
Carpenters.....				13		13						13
Cooperage.....				33		33			33			
Tailors.....				15		15						15
Wagons.....				163		163			163			
Prison duties.....				167	1	168						168
<i>State House Correction & Reform—Ionia</i>	555		555	555		555			349			206
Chairs.....				179		179			179			
Cigars.....				170		170			170			
Farm.....				16		16						16
Furniture.....				25		25						25
Tailors.....				30		30						30
Prison duties.....				135		135						135
<i>State Industrial Home for Girls—Adrian</i>	181		181	181		181						181
Housework, knitting, sewing, laundry, prison duties.....				181		181						181
<i>House of Correction—Detroit</i>	598	68	666	598	68	666						666
Chairs.....				505		505						505
Prison duties.....				93	68	161						161
<i>Reform School—Lansing</i>	440		440	439		439		1				439
Canes.....				271		271						271
Farm.....				50		50						50
Shoes.....				5		5						5
Tailoring.....				45		45						45
Prison duties.....				68		68						68
MINNESOTA	539	10	549	515	10	525		24	330			195
<i>State Prison—Stillwater</i>	409	10	419	385	10	395		24	330			65
Blacksmiths.....				23		23			23			
Bookkeepers.....				4		4						
Foundry.....				31		31			31			

Table I.—Continued.

OCCUPATIONS OF CONVICTS IN THE PENAL INSTITUTIONS OF THE UNITED STATES.	PRIS'N POP- ULATION.			PRISONERS AT WORK.			IDLE.		METHOD OF EMPLOYMENT.			
	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.	For want of employ- ment.	For other reasons.	Under contract.	Under lease.	Piece price plan.	Public account and prison duties.
MINNESOTA—Continued.												
Machinists.				63		63				63		
Miscellaneous.				24		24				24		
Painters.				39		39				39		
Stonecutters.				8		8				8		
Woodworkers.				138		138			138			
Prison duties.				55	10	65						65
State Reform School—St. Paul.	130		130	130		130						130
Carpenters, farm, garden, greenhouse, tinware, toys, prison duties.				130		130						130
MISSISSIPPI.												
State Penitentiary—Jackson.	780	32	812	780	32	812				741		71
Blacksmiths, furniture, painters, wag- onmakers.				40		40				40		
Brickmaking.				30		30				30		
Farming.				671		671				671		
Prison duties.				39	32	71						71
MISSOURI.												
State Penitentiary—Jefferson City.	1660	35	1695	1405	35	1440	145	110	869			571
Boots and shoes.				503		503			503			
Clothing.				40		40			40			
Construction.				283		283						283
Harness and saddlery.				173		173			173			
Saddle-trees.				153		153			153			
Prison duties.				258	35	288						288
City Workhouse—St. Louis.	205	100	305	199	98	297		8				297
Breaking stone.				62	78	140						140
Making streets.				80		80						80
Quarrying stone.				40		40						40
Prison duties.				17	20	37						37
NEBRASKA.												
State Penitentiary—Lincoln.	307		307	307		307				278		29
Brickmaking.				15		15				15		
Brooms and trunks.				9		9				9		
Farm.				56		56				56		
Harness.				29		29				29		
Laundry.				12		12				12		
Nebraska Manufacturing Co.				81		81				81		
Stone work.				50		50				50		
Tailoring.				26		26				26		
Prison duties.				29		29						29
State Reform School—Kearney.	56	13	69	56	13	69						69
Farm, garden and live stock.				56		56						56
Prison duties.					13	13						13
NEVADA.												
State Prison—Carson City.	130	2	132	126	2	128		4				123
Boots and shoes.				68		68						68
Quarrying and cutting stone.				37		37						37
Prison duties.				21	2	23						23

Table I.—Continued.

OCCUPATIONS OF CONVICTS IN THE PENAL INSTITUTIONS OF THE UNITED STATES.	PRIS'N POP- ULATION			PRISONERS AT WORK.			IDLE.		METHOD OF EMPLOYMENT.			
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	For want of employ- ment.	For other reasons.	Under contract.	Under lease.	Piece price plan.	Public account and prison duties
NEW HAMPSHIRE.....	208	16	224	204	16	220	.....	4	99	.....	.....	121
State Prison, Concord	114	2	116	110	2	112	.....	4	99	.....	.....	13
Bedsteads—wood .....	.....	.....	.....	84	.....	84	.....	.....	84	.....	.....	.....
Window shade rollers.....	.....	.....	.....	15	.....	15	.....	.....	15	.....	.....	.....
Prison duties .....	.....	.....	.....	11	2	13	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	13
State Industrial School—Manchester ...	94	14	108	94	14	108	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	108
Cane chairs .....	.....	.....	.....	75	.....	75	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	75
Farming.....	.....	.....	.....	10	.....	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	10
Mattresses .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3
Overalls .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2
Shoemaking .....	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2
Prison duties .....	.....	.....	.....	7	8	15	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	15
NEW JERSEY	1519	60	1579	1325	60	1385	83	111	.....	.....	625	760
State Prison—Trenton.....	844	29	873	697	29	726	36	111	.....	.....	625	101
Brushes .....	.....	.....	.....	30	.....	30	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	30
Brick blocks and backs.....	.....	.....	.....	15	.....	15	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	15
Collars .....	.....	.....	.....	100	.....	100	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	100
Cuffs .....	.....	.....	.....	100	.....	100	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	100
Hose .....	.....	.....	.....	50	.....	50	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	50
Pantaloons .....	.....	.....	.....	30	.....	30	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	30
Shirts .....	.....	.....	.....	60	.....	60	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	60
Shirts and laundry.....	.....	.....	.....	100	.....	100	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	100
Shoes .....	.....	.....	.....	140	.....	140	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	140
Prison duties .....	.....	.....	.....	72	29	101	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	101
State Reform School for Boys—James- burg	284	.....	284	237	.....	237	47	.....	.....	.....	.....	237
Blacksmiths .....	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2
Carpenters .....	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2
Farming .....	.....	.....	.....	22	.....	22	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	22
Painting.....	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2
Shirts .....	.....	.....	.....	102	.....	102	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	102
Shoes .....	.....	.....	.....	10	.....	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	10
Tailoring .....	.....	.....	.....	14	.....	14	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	14
Prison duties .....	.....	.....	.....	83	.....	83	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	83
Essex County Penitentiary—Caldwell...	167	8	175	167	8	175	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	175
Quarrying and breaking stone, grad- ing and farming.....	.....	.....	.....	147	.....	147	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	147
Prison duties .....	.....	.....	.....	20	8	28	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	28
Hudson County Penitentiary	224	23	247	224	23	247	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	247
Quarrying and crushing stone, repair- ing county roads .....	.....	.....	.....	210	.....	210	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	210
Prison duties .....	.....	.....	.....	14	23	37	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	37
NEW YORK.....	8252	780	9032	7474	670	8144	551	337	4350	.....	.....	3794
Sing Sing State Prison, Sing Sing	1572	.....	1572	1572	.....	1572	.....	.....	1300	.....	.....	2
Laundry .....	.....	.....	.....	129	.....	126	.....	.....	126	.....	.....	.....
Shoes .....	.....	.....	.....	299	.....	299	.....	.....	299	.....	.....	.....
Stoves.....	.....	.....	.....	875	.....	875	.....	.....	875	.....	.....	.....
Prison duties .....	.....	.....	.....	272	.....	272	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	272
Auburn Prison—Auburn	834	.....	834	485	.....	485	349	.....	60	.....	.....	425
Boots and shoes .....	.....	.....	.....	212	.....	212	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	212
Collars .....	.....	.....	.....	60	.....	60	.....	.....	60	.....	.....	.....
Prison duties .....	.....	.....	.....	213	.....	213	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	213

Table I.—Continued.

OCCUPATION OF CONVICTS IN THE PENAL INSTITUTIONS OF THE UNITED STATES.	PRIS'N POP- ULATION.			PRISONERS AT WORK.			IDLE.		METHOD OF EMPLOYMENT.			
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	For want of employ- ment	For other reasons	Under contract	Under lease	Place price plan	Public account and prison duties
<i>Ciinton Prison—Dannemora</i>	561		561	551		551	10					551
Clothing				430		430						430
Prison duties				121		121						121
<i>State Reformatory—Elmira</i>	703		703	703		703			348			355
Brushes				191		191						191
Hollow-ware				193		193			193			
Shoes				155		155			155			
Prison duties				164		164						164
<i>Penitentiary—Albany</i>	871	109	980	786	54	840	140		840			
Brushes				44		44			44			
Seating				35	54	89			89			
Shoes				707		707			707			
<i>N. Y. Penitentiary—Blackwell's Island</i>	963	184	1147	963	184	1147						1147
Blacksmiths				32		32						32
Broom making				6		6						6
Brush making				4		4						4
Carpenters				49		49						49
Coopers				2		2						2
Cot makers				5		5						5
Painters				8		8						8
Quarrying				471		471						471
Shoe making				54		54						54
Sewing				184		184						184
Stone cutting				109		109						109
Tailors				14		14						14
Tinners				29		29						29
Upholsters				2		2						2
Prison duties				178		178						178
<i>Kings County Penitentiary—Brooklyn</i>	702	99	801	692	78	880	49	72	588			92
Shoes				567	21	588			588			
Prison duties				35	57	92						92
<i>Erie County Penitentiary—Buffalo</i>	425	54	479	374	54	428	51		360			68
Saddlery hardware				340	20	360			360			
Prison duties				34	34	68						68
<i>Monroe County Penitentiary—Rochester</i>	317	61	378	190	35	225	153		155			70
Boots and shoes				155		155			155			
Farming				20		20						20
Prison duties				15	35	50						50
<i>Onondaga County Penitentiary—Syracuse</i>	225	36	261	169	28	197	64		164			33
Bolts				42	8	50			50			
Hames, saddlery hardware				100	14	114			114			
Prison duties				27	6	33						33
<i>N. Y. House of Refuge—Randall's Island</i>	620	104	724	620	104	724			535			189
Knitting socks				535		535			535			
Tailoring				7	40	47						47
Prison duties				78	64	142						142
<i>Western House of Refuge—Rochester</i>	459	133	592	459	133	592						592
Brushes				56		56						56
Chair cane seating				93		93						93
Chair flag seating				35		35						35
Hosiery knitting				30		30						30
Shoemaking				146		146						146
Tailoring				26		26						26
Prison duties				73	133	206						206

Table I.—Continued.

OCCUPATIONS OF CONVICTS IN THE PENAL INSTITUTIONS OF THE UNITED STATES.	PRIS'N POP- ULATION.			PRISONERS AT WORK.			IDLE.		METHOD OF EMPLOYMENT.			
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	For want of employ- ment	For other reasons	Under contract	Under lease	Piece price plan	Public account and prison duties
NORTH CAROLINA	1020	65	1085	1020	65	1085	.....	.....	1085	.....	.....	.....
<i>State Penitentiary</i> —Raleigh.....	1020	65	1085	1020	65	1085	.....	.....	1085	.....	.....	.....
Farming, public account, railroads.....	1020	65	1085	.....	.....	1085	.....	.....	.....
OHIO	2784	440	3224	2665	430	3095	.....	129	1199	.....	463	1433
<i>Penitentiary</i> —Columbus.....	1474	24	1498	1423	24	1447	.....	51	949	.....	263	235
Bolts and nuts.....	107	.....	107	.....	.....	107	.....	.....	.....
Boots and shoes.....	50	.....	50	.....	.....	50	.....	.....	.....
Brooms.....	50	.....	50	.....	.....	.....	.....	50	.....
Brooms.....	48	.....	48	.....	.....	.....	.....	48	.....
Cane seat chairs.....	26	.....	26	.....	.....	26	.....	.....	.....
Carpenters' tools.....	61	.....	61	.....	.....	61	.....	.....	.....
Carpenters' and joiners' tools.....	49	.....	49	.....	.....	.....	.....	49	.....
Carpenters.....	25	.....	25	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	25
Carriage bodies and shafts.....	105	.....	105	.....	.....	105	.....	.....	.....
Childrens' carriages.....	35	.....	35	.....	.....	35	.....	.....	.....
Cigars.....	51	.....	51	.....	.....	.....	.....	51	.....
Cigars and cigar boxes.....	55	.....	55	.....	.....	55	.....	.....	.....
Cooperage.....	45	.....	45	.....	.....	45	.....	.....	.....
Foundry.....	80	.....	80	.....	.....	.....	.....	80	.....
Harness and saddles.....	30	.....	30	.....	.....	30	.....	.....	.....
Hollow-ware and castings.....	170	.....	170	.....	.....	170	.....	.....	.....
Saddlery hardware.....	185	.....	185	.....	.....	185	.....	.....	.....
Stoves and stove castings.....	80	.....	80	.....	.....	80	.....	.....	.....
Tinners.....	13	.....	13	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	13
Wheels and spokes.....	35	.....	35	.....	.....	.....	.....	35	.....
Woolen goods.....	29	.....	29	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	29
Prison duties.....	94	24	118	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	118
<i>City Work House</i> —Cincinnati.....	418	85	503	350	75	425	.....	78	250	.....	.....	175
Sewing machines.....	50	.....	50	.....	.....	50	.....	.....	.....
Stone quarrying.....	100	.....	100	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	100
Wire work and brushes.....	160	40	200	.....	.....	200	.....	.....	.....
Prison duties.....	40	35	75	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	75
<i>Work House and House of Refuge</i> — Cleveland.....	292	47	339	292	47	339	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	339
Brushes, shoes, prison duties.....	292	47	339	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	339
<i>Girls' Industrial School</i> —Delaware.....	284	284	.....	284	284	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	284
Sewing and knitting.....	284	284	.....	284	284	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	284
<i>Boys' Industrial School</i> —Lancaster.....	600	.....	600	600	.....	600	.....	.....	.....	.....	200	400
Brick making.....	18	.....	18	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	18
Brick laying.....	14	.....	14	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	14
Brush making.....	200	.....	200	.....	.....	.....	.....	200	.....
Farm and garden.....	59	.....	59	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	59
Printing.....	18	.....	18	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	18
Shoe making.....	16	.....	16	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	16
Tailoring.....	27	.....	27	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	27
Prison duties.....	248	.....	248	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	248
OREGON	290	1	291	282	1	283	.....	8	170	.....	.....	113
<i>State Penitentiary</i> —Salem.....	290	1	291	282	1	283	.....	8	170	.....	.....	113
Brick.....	50	.....	50	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	50
Stoves.....	170	.....	170	.....	.....	170	.....	.....	.....
Prison duties.....	62	1	63	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	63

Table I.—Continued.

OCCUPATIONS OF CONVICTS IN THE PENAL INSTITUTIONS OF THE UNITED STATES.	PRIS'N POP- ULATION.		PRISONERS AT WORK.			IDLE.	METHOD OF EMPLOYMENT.						
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females		Total	For want of employ- ment.....	For other reasons..	Under contract.....	Under lease.....	Piece price plan....	Public account and prison duties.....
PENNSYLVANIA	4870	663	5533	4099	649	4748	785	....	....	402	....	45	4301
<i>Eastern Penitentiary—Philadelphia</i>	1133	28	1161	890	27	917	244	....	....	....	....	....	917
Blacksmithing				3		3							3
Cane seat chairs				65		65							65
Chair woodwork				24		24							24
Cigars				40		40							40
Clothing					27	27							27
Mat making				35		35							35
Milling				2		2							2
Shoe making				99		99							99
Shoes				59		59							59
Stockings				407		407							407
Tailors				13		13							13
Tinners				2		2							2
Weaving				15		15							15
Prison duties				126		126							126
<i>Western Penitentiary—Allegheny</i>	683	14	697	589	13	602	95	....	....	402	....	....	200
Brooms				49		49				49			....
Cigars				52		52				52			....
Shoes				291	10	301				301			....
Weaving				3		3							3
Prison duties				194	3	197							197
<i>House of Correction—Philadelphia</i>	1167	229	1396	1134	229	1363	33	....	....	....	....	....	1363
Construction				134		134							134
Farming				89		89							89
Quarrying and cutting stone				324		324							324
Shoes				27		27							27
Prison duties				560	229	789							789
<i>Allegheny Co. Work House—Hoboken</i>	787	82	869	515	80	595	274	....	....	....	....	45	550
Brooms				40		40						45	40
Brushes				10	35	45							70
Construction				70		70							70
Coop-rage				300		300							300
Farming				10		10							10
Laundry					10	10							10
Prison duties				85	35	120							120
<i>House of Refuge—Philadelphia</i>	398	183	581	398	183	581							581
Caning chairs				188		188							188
Hosiery					75	75							75
Shoes				70		70							70
Tailoring				66		66							66
Prison duties				74	108	182							182
<i>Philadelphia Co. Prison—Philadelphia</i>	385	35	420	265	25	290	130	....	....	....	....	....	290
Cracker bakers				40		40							40
Sewing				25	25	50							50
Shoemaking				80		80							80
Prison duties				120		120							120
<i>Lancaster County Prison—Lancaster</i>	80	4	84	71	4	75	9	....	....	....	....	....	75
Ba-k-ets				2		2							2
Knitting				4		4							4
Sewing rags				14	4	18							18
Shoes				7		7							7
Weaving				17		17							17
Prison duties				27		27							27
<i>State Reform School—Morganza</i>	237	88	325	237	88	325							325
Blacksmiths				5		5							5
Brooms and brushes				8	22	30							30
Garden and farm				44		44							44
Bag cutting				139	46	185							185

Table I.—Continued.

OCCUPATIONS OF CONVICTS IN THE PENAL INSTITUTIONS OF THE UNITED STATES.	PRIS'N POP- ULATION.			PRISONERS AT WORK.			IDLE. For other reasons.. For want of employ- ment.....	METHOD OF EMPLOYMENT.			
	Males.....	Females.....	Total.....	Males.....	Females.....	Total.....		Under contract.....	Under lease.....	Piece price plan...	Public account and prison duties.....
PENNSYLVANIA—Continued.											
Shoemaking				4		4					4
Tailoring.....				4		4					4
Weaving carpet.....				11		11					11
Prison duties.....				22	20	42					42
RHODE ISLAND.....	665	79	744	661	79	740	4	122		10	608
State Prison and Providence County Jail —Cranston.....	316	25	341	312	25	337	4	122			215
Bakers.....				2		2					2
Blacksmiths.....				1		1					1
Canning chairs.....				144		144					144
Farm.....				20		20					20
Shoemakers.....				110		110		110			
Wire working.....				12		12		12			
Prison duties.....				23	25	48					48
State Work House and House of Correc- tion—Cranston.....	179	54	233	179	54	233				10	223
Canning chair seats.....				10		10				10	
Construction.....				41		41					41
Farming.....				80		80					80
Picking cotton waste.....				8		8					8
Quarrying stone.....				40		40					40
Prison duties.....					54	54					54
Sockanosset School for Boys—Howard..	170		170	170		170					170
Canning chairs.....				57		57					57
Farm.....				46		46					46
Laundry.....				8		8					8
Printing.....				8		8					8
Tailoring.....				10		10					10
Prison duties.....				41		41					41
SOUTH CAROLINA.....	901	44	945	901	44	945			526		419
Penitentiary—Columbia.....	901	44	945	901	44	945			526		419
Blacksmiths, carpenters, farmers, ma- sons, tailoring, weaving.....				398		398					398
Construction.....				300		300			300		
Phosphate.....				76		76					
Shoemaking.....				67	13	80			80		
Stocking.....				60	10	70			70		
Prison duties.....					21	21					21
TENNESSEE.....	1293	46	1339	1293	46	1339			1339		
State Penitentiary—Nashville.....	1293	46	1339	1293	46	1339			1339		
Mining.....				709	14	723					723
Quarrying.....				30		30					30
Wagonmaking.....				554	32	586			586		
TEXAS.....	2506	33	2539	2539	33	2392	147	109			2283
State Penitentiary—Huntsville.....	2506	33	2539	2339	33	2392	147	109			2283
Blacksmiths.....				65		65					65
Brickmaking.....				59		59					59
Carpenters.....				21		21					21
Construction.....				127		127					127
Farming.....				126		126					126
Foundry and machinery.....				74		74		74			
Furniture.....				62		62					62
Miscellaneous.....				134		134					134

Table I.—Continued.

OCCUPATIONS OF CONVICTS IN THE PENAL INSTITUTIONS OF THE UNITED STATES.	PRIS'N POP- ULATION.			PRISONERS AT WORK.			IDLE.	METHOD OF EMPLOYMENT.					
	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.		For want of employ- ment.	For other reasons.	Under contract.	Under lease.	Place price plan	Public account and prison duties.
TEXAS—Continued.													
Planing mill				11		11							11
Plantation				1148		1148							1148
Railroads				176		176							176
Saddle trees and stirrups				35		35				35			
Shoemaking				15		15							15
Tailors				19		19							19
Wood choppers				165		165							165
Prison duties				122	33	155							155
VERMONT.	150	20	170	150	20	170				70			100
State Prison—Windsor	83	3	86	83	3	86				70			16
Shoemaking				70		70				70			
Prison duties				13	3	16							16
State Reform School—Vergennes	67	17	84	67	17	84							84
Chairs				67		67							67
Laundry					17	17							17
VIRGINIA	956	68	1024	956	68	1024				808			216
Penitentiary—Richmond	956	68	1024	956	68	1024				808			216
Construction				211		211				211			
Cooperage				44		44							44
Shoes				459		459				459			
Tobacco				94		94				94			
Prison duties				148	68	216							216
WEST VIRGINIA	269	6	275	269	6	275				215			60
Penitentiary—Moundsville	269	6	275	269	6	275				215			60
Wagons				94		94				94			
Whips and brooms				121		121				121			
Prison duties				54	6	60							60
WISCONSIN	1019	33	1052	989	33	1022		30		340			632
State Prison—Waupun	447	13	460	417	13	430		30		340			90
Boots and shoes				340		340				340			
Prison duties				77	13	90							90
State Industrial School for Boys—Wau- kesha	298		298	298		298							298
Boots and Shoes				80		80							80
Farm				52		52							52
Socks				75		75							75
Tailoring				25		25							25
Prison duties				66		66							66
House of Correction—Milwaukee	274	20	294	274	20	294							294
Chairs				224		224							224
Prison duties				50	20	70							70
The Territories	420	2	422	327	2	329	80	13	60				269
ARIZONA	126		126	113		113			13				113
Territorial Prison—Yuma	126		126	113		113			13				113
Adobe and building				113		113							113

Table I.—Continued.

OCCUPATIONS OF CONVICTS IN THE PENAL INSTITUTIONS OF THE UNITED STATES.	PRIS'N POP- ULATION.			PRISONERS AT WORK.			IDLE. For want of employ- ment.....	METHOD OF EMPLOYMENT.			
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total		Under contract....	Under lease.....	Piece price plan....	Public account and prison duties.....
DAKOTA	86	2	88	85	2	87	1	60			27
<i>Penitentiary—Sioux Falls</i>	86	2	88	85	2	87	1	60			27
Carpenters.....				3		3					3
Dressing granite and building stone, polishing and making granite and marble monumental work.....				60		60		60			2
Painters.....				2		2					2
Shoemakers.....				1		1					1
Tailors.....				3		3					3
Prison duties.....				16	2	18					18
MONTANA	111		111	32		32	79				32
<i>U. S. Penitentiary—Deer Lodge</i>	111		111	32		32					32
Prison duties.....				32		32					32
UTAH	74		74	74		74					74
<i>U. S. Penitentiary Salt Lake City</i>	74		74	74		74					74
Garden and prison duties.....				74		74					74
WASHINGTON	14		14	14		14					14
<i>U. S. Penitentiary—McNeill's Island</i>	14		14	14		14					14
Gardening.....				6		6					6
Building boats.....				2		2					2
Prison duties.....				6		6					6
WYOMING	9		9	9		9					9
<i>U. S. Penitentiary—Laramie City</i>	9		9	9		9					9
Bricks.....				3		3					3
Prison duties.....				6		6					6

RECAPITULATION.

STATES.	Total population.	PRISONERS AT WORK.			Idle.	METHODS OF EMPLOYMENT.					
		Male.	Female.	Total.		Under contract.	Under lease.	Piece - price plan.	On public account.	In prison duties.	
UNITED STATES.....	57,331	48,838	3,901	52,739	4,592	14,939	9,291	2,980	16,679	8,850	
Alabama.....	899	867	32	899	.....	.....	863	.....	.....	36
Arkansas.....	597	582	15	597	.....	.....	597	.....	.....	.....
California.....	1,621	1,547	14	1,561	60	.....	.....	769	407	385
Colorado.....	455	431	3	434	21	.....	.....	.....	287	147
Connecticut.....	930	613	207	820	80	200	.....	60	348	242
Delaware.....	89	.....	.....	.....	89	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Florida.....	197	197	.....	197	.....	.....	197	.....	.....	.....
Georgia.....	1,659	1,620	39	1,659	.....	.....	1,659	.....	.....	.....
Illinois.....	3,32	2,730	89	2,819	502	1,873	.....	110	340	496
Indiana.....	1,737	1,714	.....	1,714	23	1,172	.....	.....	436	106
Iowa.....	1,011	892	13	905	106	318	.....	.....	330	237
Kansas.....	1,376	1,342	16	1,358	18	245	.....	.....	932	181
Kentucky.....	1,384	1,300	84	1,384	.....	.....	1,142	.....	169	73
Louisiana.....	864	820	44	864	.....	.....	864	.....	.....	.....
Maine.....	183	174	3	177	6	.....	.....	.....	168	9
Maryland.....	1,214	491	31	522	692	439	.....	.....	.....	83
Massachusetts.....	3,819	2,749	649	3,398	421	649	.....	898	876	975
Michigan.....	2,628	2,377	250	2,627	1	900	.....	.....	1,195	532
Minnesota.....	549	515	10	525	24	330	.....	.....	130	65
Mississippi.....	812	780	32	812	.....	.....	741	.....	.....	71
Missouri.....	2,000	1,604	133	1,737	263	869	.....	.....	543	325
Nebraska.....	376	363	13	376	.....	.....	278	.....	56	42
Nevada.....	132	126	2	128	4	.....	.....	.....	105	23
New Hampshire.....	224	204	16	220	4	99	.....	.....	93	28
New Jersey.....	1,579	1,325	60	1,385	194	.....	.....	625	511	249
New York.....	9,032	7,474	670	8,144	888	4,350	.....	.....	2,255	1,539
North Carolina.....	1,085	1,020	65	1,085	.....	.....	1,085	.....	.....	.....
Ohio.....	3,224	2,665	430	3,095	129	1,199	.....	463	992	441
Oregon.....	291	282	1	283	8	170	.....	.....	50	63
Pennsylvania.....	5,533	4,099	649	4,748	785	403	.....	45	2,698	1,603
Rhode Island.....	744	661	79	740	4	122	.....	10	465	143
South Carolina.....	945	901	44	945	.....	.....	526	.....	398	21
Tennessee.....	1,339	1,293	46	1,339	.....	.....	1,339	.....	.....	.....
Texas.....	2,539	2,359	33	2,392	147	109	.....	.....	2,128	155
Vermont.....	170	150	20	170	.....	70	.....	.....	84	16
Virginia.....	1,024	956	68	1,024	.....	808	.....	.....	.....	216
W. st Virginia.....	275	269	6	275	.....	215	.....	.....	.....	60
Wisconsin.....	1,052	939	33	1,022	30	340	.....	.....	456	226
The Territories.....	422	327	2	329	93	60	.....	.....	207	62

TABLE II.—*Convicts at Work—By Industries.*

KINDS OF WORK DONE IN PENAL INSTITUTIONS IN WHICH CONVICT LABOR IS EMPLOYED.	CONVICTS AT WORK.			METHOD OF EMPLOY- MENT.			
	Males.....	Females...	Total	Contract..	Lease.....	Piece price	Public ac- count.....
AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS	585	15	600	294	306		
Agricultural tools	174		174	174			
Farm implements	120		120	120			
Farm implements, harness and wagons	291	15	306		306		
BOOTS AND SHOES	7,082	44	7,076	5,633	80	140	1,223
Boots and shoes	2,799		2,799	2,439			360
Heel making	48		48	48			
Shoemaking	944	13	957	391	80		486
Shoemakers and tailors	26		26				26
Shoes	3,063	31	3,094	2,603		140	551
Woolen boots	152		152	152			
BUILDING AND BUILDING MATERIAL	1,170		1,170	99	396	72	603
Adobe and building	113		113				113
Bricklayers	14		14				14
Brickmaking	634		634	60	320	61	193
Burning lime	46		46				46
Carpenters	187		187			11	176
Carpenters and blacksmiths	17		17				17
Cutting timber and sawing lumber	55		55		55		
Improvements and repairs	7		7				7
Painters	65		65	39			26
Planing mill	11		11				11
Sawing lumber	21		21		21		
CARRIAGES AND WAGONS	1,054	32	1,086	440	586		60
Carriages and trimming	60		60				60
Children's carriages	35		35	35			
Wagons	959	32	991	405	586		
CIGARS AND TOBACCO	462		462	371		51	40
Cigars	313		313	222		51	40
Cigars and cigar boxes	55		55	55			
Tobacco	94		94	94			
CLOTHING AND WEARING APPAREL	3,760	1,085	4,845	1194	96	1,022	2,533
Clothing	811	27	838	40		341	457
Coats and vests		40	40			40	
Collars	160		160	60		100	
Cuffs	100		100			100	
Dressmaking		40	40				40
Hats	314		314	314			
Hose	50		50			50	
Hosiery		75	75				75
Hosiery and knitting	30		30				30
Hosiery and woolen goods	184		184	184			
Knitting	4		4				4
Knitting, sewing, housework and laundry		181	181				181
Knitting socks	535		535	535			
Knitting and tailoring	61		61	61			
Overalls		3	3				3
Pantaloon	30		30			30	
Seamstresses		231	231				231

Table II.—Continued.

KINDS OF WORK DONE IN PENAL INSTITUTIONS IN WHICH CONVICT LABOR IS EMPLOYED.	CONVICTS AT WORK.			METHOD OF EMPLOY- MENT.			
	Males.....	Females.....	Total.....	Contract..	Lease.....	Piece price	Public ac- count.....
CLOTHING AND WEARING APPAREL—Continued.							
Sewing	25	25	50				50
Sewing and knitting.....		284	284				284
Shirts	334	129	463			261	202
Shirts and laundry	100		100			100	
Socks	75		75				75
Stockings	467	10	477		70		407
Tailoring	451	40	491		26		465
Woolen goods.....	29		29				29
CONSTRUCTION.....	4,484	171	4,655	211	2,908		1,536
Breaking stone.....	62	78	140				149
Building railroads and levees.....	820	44	864		864		
Building railroads, mining, etc.....	1,104	38	1,142		1,142		
Building and work on railroads.....	515	11	526		350		176
Constructing public sewer.....	65		65				65
Constructing public streets.....	80		80				80
Constructing public works.....	1,166		1,166	211	300		655
Constructing prisons and roads.....	420		420				420
Constructing roads, work on plantations.....	197		197		197		
Grading public parks.....	55		55		55		
FARM, GARDEN AND PLANTATION.....	3,432	30	3,462		939		2,523
Farm and garden	276		276				276
Farm, garden and livestock	56		56				56
Farming	1,891	30	1,921		939		982
Gardening	51		51				51
Greenhouse	10		10				10
Plantations.....	1,148		1,148				1,148
FURNITURE AND HOUSEKEEPING SUPPLIES.....	3,903	92	3,995	1,036	9	467	2,483
Beds	14		14	14			
Bedsteads—wood	84		84	84			
Brooms	321		321	130		48	143
Brooms and brushes.....	8	22	30				30
Brooms and trunks.....	9		9		9		
Cane chairs	1,147	9	1,156	116		300	731
Cane seat chairs.....	91		91	26			65
Chairs.....	1,079		1,079	283			796
Chair—cane seating.....	93		93				93
Chairs and cradles.....	162		162	162			
Chairs, flag seating.....	35		35				35
Chairs, seating.....	35	54	89	89			
Chairs and woodwork.....	24		24				24
Cots.....	5		5				5
Furniture.....	264		264	67		110	87
Jute.....	310		310				310
Mat making	35		35				35
Mattresses	4	3	7				7
Sewing machine.....	50		50	50			
Sewing rags.....	14	4	18				18
Tinware.....	56		56				56
Upholstering.....	2		2				2
Weaving.....	35		35				35
Weaving carpet.....	11		11				11
Window shade rollers.....	15		15	15			
IRON GOODS	3,704	42	3,746	3,305		178	263
Blacksmiths	286		286	23		39	224
Bolts	42	8	50	50			
Bolts and nuts	107		107	107			
Carpenters and joiners tools.....	110		110	61		49	

Table II.—Continued.

KINDS OF WORK DONE IN PENAL INSTITUTIONS IN WHICH CONVICT LABOR IS EMPLOYED.	CONVICTS AT WORK.			METHOD OF EMPLOY- MENT.			
	Males	Females	Total	Contract	Lease	Piece price	Public Ac- count
IRON GOODS—Continued.							
Castings	10		10			10	
Foundry and machinery	74		74				
Foundry workers	131		131			80	
Hames and saddlery hardware	100	14	114				
Hollow-ware	193		193				
Hollow-ware and castings	295		295				
Machinists	100		100		63		37
Saddlery hardware	525	20	545		545		
Saddle trees and stirrups	35		35				
Shelf hardware	300		300		300		
Steampipe fitters	2		2				2
Stoves	1,045		1,045		1,015		
Stoves and hollow-ware	114		114				
Stoves and stove castings	80		80				
Wire and wire fence	143		143		143		
Wire work	12		12				
LABORERS	403	3	406	24	60		322
Chopping wood	225		225		60		165
General work	154	3	157				157
Helpers	24		24	24			
LEATHER GOODS							
	631		631	501	29	44	57
Harness	163		163	50	29	27	57
Harness and collars	127		127				
Harness and saddles	203		203				
Leather	17		17			17	
Whips and brooms	121		121	121			
MINING AND QUARRYING							
	4,584	38	4,622		2,538	200	1,884
Mining coal	1,652	19	1,671		1,436		235
Mining coal and burning coke	400	15	415		415		
Mining coal and constructing	291		291		291		
Mining iron ore	130		130		130		
Quarrying granite	200		200			200	
Quarrying limestone and burning lime	23		23		23		
Quarrying stone	1,170	4	1,174		243		931
Quarrying stone, breaking and grading	147		147				147
Quarrying stone and crushing	210		210				210
Quarrying stone and cutting	361		361				361
STONE WORK							
	958		958	491	50	200	217
Cutting and dressing stone	482		482	118	50	97	217
Dressing granite	170		170	67		103	
Dressing granite and marble	60		60	60			
Dressing marble	246		246	246			
WOODEN GOODS							
	1,769		1,769	966		226	577
Baskets	2		2				2
Boats	2		2				2
Canes	271		271				271
Carriage bodies and shafts	105		105	105			
Coopers	797		797	496			302
Doors	191		191			191	
Mouldings	55		55	55			
Saddle trees	173		173	173			
Wheels and spokes	35		35			35	
Wood workers	138		138	138			

Table II.—Continued.

KINDS OF WORK DONE IN PENAL INSTITUTIONS IN WHICH CONVICT LABOR IS EMPLOYED.	CONVICTS AT WORK.			METHOD OF EMPLOY- MENT.			
	Males.....	Females...	Total.....	Contract...	Lease.....	Piece price	Public ac- count...
MISCELLANEOUS.....	3,959	343	4,302	374	1,282	380	2,266
Bakers—crackers.....	40		40				40
Blacksmiths, furniture, painters, wagons.....	40		40		40		
Blacksmiths, carpenters, farming, masons, prison duties, tailoring, weaving.....	398		398				398
Bone ash.....	10		19				10
Bone workers.....	6		6				6
Bookkeepers.....	4		4	4			
Brushes.....	836	35	871	44		275	552
Brush blocks and brush backs.....	15		15			15	
Brushes, shoes, and prison duties.....	292	47	339				339
Brushes and wire work.....	160	40	200	200			
Farm, construction, garden, prison duties.....	1,530	65	1,595		1,085		510
Laundry.....	126	72	198	126		52	20
Milling.....	2		2				2
Nebraska Manufacturing Co.—public account.....	121		121		81		40
Paper boxes.....		38	38			38	
Phosphate.....	76		76		76		
Picking cotton waste.....	8		8				8
Printing.....	26		26				26
Rag cutting.....	139	46	185				185
Tinware, toys, carpenters, farming, greenhouse, garden, prison duties.....	130		130				130
PRISON DUTIES AND PRISON WORK.....	6,948	2,006	8,954		12		8,942
Baking and kitchen.....	24		24				24
Engine house.....	11		11				11
Laundry.....	59	10	69		12		57
Prison duties (not classified).....	6,854	1,996	8,850				8,850

RECAPITULATION.

INDUSTRIES.	CONVICTS AT WORK.			METHODS OF EMPLOY- MENT.			
	Males.....	Females...	Total.....	Contract...	Lease.....	Piece price	Public acct and prison duties.....
UNITED STATES.....	48,838	3,901	52,739	14,939	9,291	2,980	25,529
Agricultural implements.....	585	15	600	294	396		
Boots and shoes.....	7,082	44	7,076	5,683	80	140	1,223
Building and building material.....	1,170		1,170	99	396	72	603
Carriages and wagons.....	1,054	32	1,086	440	586		60
Cigars and tobacco.....	462		462	371		51	40
Clothing and wearing apparel.....	3,760	1,085	4,845	1,194	96	1,022	2,553
Construction.....	4,484	171	4,655	211	2,908		1,546
Farm, garden and plantation.....	3,432	30	3,462		939		2,523
Furniture and housekeeping supplies.....	3,903	92	3,995	1,696	9	467	2,483
Iron goods.....	3,704	42	3,746	3,395		178	263
Laborers.....	403	3	406	24	60		323
Leather goods.....	631		631	501	29	44	57
Mining and quarrying.....	4,594	38	4,622		2,538	200	1,884
Stone work.....	958		958	491	50	200	217
Wooden goods.....	1,769		1,769	966		226	577
Prison duties and prison work.....	6,948	2,006	8,954		12		8,942
Miscellaneous.....	3,959	343	4,302	374	1,282	380	2,266

TABLE III.—*Systems of Prison Labor under which Convicts are Employed—By States.*

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	NUMBER EMPLOYED.					
	Under contract.....	Under lease.	Under piece price.....	On public account.....	In prison duties.....	Totals.....
UNITED STATES.....	14,939	9,291	2,980	16,679	8,850	52,739
Alabama.....		863			36	899
Arkansas.....		597				597
California.....			769	407	385	1,561
Colorado.....				287	147	434
Connecticut.....	200		60	343	242	850
Delaware.....						
Florida.....		197				197
Georgia.....		1,659				1,659
Illinois.....	1,873		110	340	496	2,819
Indiana.....	1,172			496	106	1,714
Iowa.....	318			350	217	905
Kansas.....	245			932	181	1,358
Kentucky.....		1,143		169	73	1,384
Louisiana.....		861				861
Maine.....				168	9	177
Maryland.....	479				83	562
Massachusetts.....	619		893	876	975	3,398
Michigan.....	900			1,195	532	2,627
Minnesota.....	330			130	65	525
Mississippi.....		741			71	812
Missouri.....	869			543	325	1,737
Nebraska.....		278		56	42	376
Nevada.....				105	23	128
New Hampshire.....	99			93	28	220
New Jersey.....			625	511	219	1,355
New York.....	4,350			2,255	1,539	8,144
North Carolina.....		1,085				1,085
Ohio.....	1,199		463	992	441	3,095
Oregon.....	170			50	63	283
Pennsylvania.....	402		45	2,698	1,603	4,748
Rhode Island.....	122		10	465	143	740
South Carolina.....		536		398	21	945
Tennessee.....		1,339				1,339
Texas.....	109			2,128	155	2,392
Vermont.....	70			84	16	170
Virginia.....	803				216	1,024
West Virginia.....	215				60	275
Wisconsin.....	310			456	226	1,022
The Territories.....	60			207	62	329

TABLE IV.—Prices paid for Convicts under the Contract System in different States and Industries.

STATES AND INSTITUTIONS.	No. OF PRISONERS.				INDUSTRY.	CONTRACT PRICE—CENTS PER DAY.		
	At work in Institution named..	Under contract.	Able bodied.....	Lighter grade..		Able bodied.....	Lighter grade..	Average.....
CONNECTICUT	234	200	170	30				
State Prison—Wetherfield ..	234	200	170	30	Boots and shoes.....	50	25	46.25
ILLINOIS	2565	1873	1803	70				
Illinois State Penitentiary—Joliet.....	1563	1304	1259	45				
	1563	499	489	10	Boots and shoes.....	56.25—70.5	46	62.4
	.....	204	193	11	Cooperage	50 —65	46	58.9
	.....	67	67	11	Granite work	56.33—71.5	.....	66.6
	.....	127	114	13	Harness and collars.....	61 —65.5	46	61.7
	.....	61	61	8	Knitting and tailoring.....	55.2	.....	55.2
	.....	93	85	8	Marble work.....	51 —73.5	46	54.5
	.....	110	110	.....	Stone work	51 —73.5	.....	54.6
	.....	143	140	3	Wire and wire fence ..	82.25	46	81.8
Southern Illinois Peniten- tiary—Chester.....	705	410	385	25				
	705	225	225	.....	Boots and shoes.....	51	.....	51
	.....	60	60	.....	Brick making.....	77	.....	77
	.....	125	100	25	Hollow-ware and light castings.....	55	42.5	52.5
Illinois State Reform School —Pontiac	297	159	159	.....			
	297	159	159	.....	Women's shoes.....	18	.....	18
INDIANA.....	1278	1172	1079	93				
State Prison, North—Michi- gan City	682	642	642	.....			
	682	127	127	.....	Boots and shoes.....	55	.....	55
	.....	162	162	.....	Chairs and cradles.....	55	.....	55
	.....	169	169	.....	Cooperage	63	.....	63
	.....	184	184	.....	Hosiery and woolen goods.....	47	.....	47
State Prison, South—Jeffer- sonville	596	530	437	93				
	596	175	125	50	Boots and shoes.....	52 —60	31	48.8
	.....	35	17	18	Brooms	60	31	45.8
	.....	20	20	.....	Saddle trees.....	48	.....	48
	.....	300	275	25	Shelf hardware	48	48	48
IOWA.....	414	318	318	.....			
Penitentiary—Fort Madison.	414	104	104	.....	Chairs and furniture..	45	.....	45
	.....	120	120	.....	Farming tools	50	.....	50
	.....	94	94	.....	Shoes.....	45	.....	45

Table IV.—Continued.

STATES AND INSTITUTIONS.	No. of PRISONERS.				INDUSTRY.	CONTRACT PRICE—CENTS PER DAY.		
	At work in institution named.	Under contract.	Able bodied...	Lighter grade...		Able bodied....	Lighter grade..	Average
KANSAS	801	245	245	...				
<i>Penitentiary—Lansing</i>	801	245	245	...	Boots and shoes.....	84.4	.....	84.4
	801	30	30	...	Furniture	84.4	.....	84.4
	...	67	67	...	Wagons	84.4	.....	84.4
	...	148	148	...				
MASSACHUSETTS	325	216	207	9				
<i>House of Correction—Lawrence</i>	161	100	100	...	Heel making.....	16	.....	16
	161	48	48	...	Shoemaking	16	.....	16
	...	52	52	...				
<i>Jail and House of Correction—Springfield</i>	164	116	107	9	Cane seating chairs...	10	10	10
	164	116	107	9				
MICHIGAN	1341	900	674	226				
<i>State Prison—Jackson</i>	786	551	339	212	Agricultural tools.	50	50	50
	786	174	136	38	Boots and shoes.....	50	50	50
	...	135	42	93	Brooms	60	60	60
	...	46	23	18	Cooperage	60	60	60
	...	33	16	17	Wagons	67	67	67
	...	163	117	46				
<i>State House of Correction—Ionia</i>	555	349	335	14	Chairs.....	60	20	59.1
	555	179	175	4	Cigars.....	40	—50	43.8
	...	170	160	10				
MINNESOTA	395	330	92	238				
<i>State Prison—Stillwater</i>	395	23	3	20	Blacksmiths	45	45	45
	...	4	4	...	Bookkeepers	45	...	45
	...	31	...	31	Foundry .....	...	45	45
	...	63	12	51	Machinists	45	45	45
	...	24	21	...	Helpers	45	...	45
	...	39	29	10	Painters	45	45	45
	...	8	5	3	Stone cutters	45	45	45
	...	138	15	123	Wood workers.....	45	45	45
MISSOURI	1440	869	869	...				
<i>State Penitentiary—Jefferson City</i>	1440	503	503	...	Boots and shoes.....	45	—50	47.5
	...	40	40	...	Clothing	35	—50	42.5
	...	173	173	...	Harness and saddlery.	40	—45	42.5
	...	153	153	...	Saddle trees	40	—45	42.5
NEW HAMPSHIRE	112	99	99	...				
<i>State Prison—Concord</i>	112	84	84	...	Bedsteads—wood	50	...	50
	...	15	15	...	Window shade rollers.	50	...	50
NEW YORK	5014	3510	2964	546				
<i>Sing Sing State Prison—Sing Sing</i>	1572	1300	1300	...	Laundry.....	60	...	60
	1572	126	126	...	Shoes.....	62	...	62
	...	229	229	...	Stoves	56	...	56
	...	875	875	...				

Table IV.—Continued.

STATES AND INSTITUTIONS.	No. OF PRISONERS.				INDUSTRY.	CONTRACT PRICE—CENTS PER DAY.		
	At work in Institution named.	Under contract.	Able bodied ...	Lighter grade...		Able-bodied.....	Lighter grade...	Average
NEW YORK—Continued.								
Auburn Prison—Auburn	485	60	60	....	Collars.....	63	....	63
	485	60	60	....			
State Reformatory—Elmira .	703	348	230	118	Hollow-ware.....	56	56	56
	703	193	110	83				
	....	155	120	35	Shoemaking	56	56	56
King's County Penitentiary—Brooklyn	680	588	530	58	Shoes.....	30	—75	25.45
	680	588	530	58				
Erie County Penitentiary—Buffalo.....	428	360	12	348	Saddlery hardware ...	45	—50	25
	428	360	12	348				
Monroe County Penitentiary Rochester	225	155	155	....	Boots and shoes.....	27	....	27
	225	155	155	....			
Oswandaga County Penitentiary—Syracuse.....	197	164	142	22	Bolts.....	31.4	31.4	31 4
	197	50	42	8				
	....	114	100	14	Hames and saddlery hardware.....	35	25	33.8
New York House of Refuge—Randall's Island.....	724	535	535	....	Knitting socks.....	8	—20—25	....
	724	535	535	....			
OHIO.								
Penitentiary—Columbus	1447	949	774	175	Bolts and nuts.....	83	60	74.1
	1447	107	70	37				
	....	50	50	....	Boots and shoes.....	80	....	80
	....	26	20	6	Cane-seat chairs	76	50	70
	....	61	60	1	Carpenters' and joiners' tools	83	50	82.5
	....	105	105	....	Carriage bodies and shafts	76	....	76
	....	35	25	10	Children's carriages and toys	81	66	76.7
	..	55	5	50	Cigars and cigar boxes	81	42	45 6
	....	45	30	15	Cooperage.....	75	58	69.33
	....	30	30	....	Harness and saddles	80	....	80
	....	170	114	56	Hollow-ware and castings	81	60	74.1
	....	185	185	....	Saddlery hardware.....	76	....	76
	....	80	80	....	Stoves and stove castings.....	75	....	75
City Workhouse—Cincinnati.	425	250	160	90	Sewing machines.....	35	35	35
	425	50	40	10				
	....	200	120	80	Wirework and brushes	30	20	26
OREGON								
State Penitentiary—Salem ..	283	170	132	38	Stoves	40	40	40
RHODE ISLAND								
State Prison and Providence County Jail—Cranston	337	110	63	47	Shoemaking.....	40	20	31 5
	....	12	11	1	Wire working.....	50	40	49.5

Table IV.—Continued.

STATES AND INSTITUTIONS.	NO. OF PRISONERS.				INDUSTRY.	CONTRACT PRICE—CENTS PER DAY.		
	At work in Institution named....	Under contract.	Able bodied.....	Lighter grade....		Able bodied.....	Lighter grade....	Average.....
VERMONT.....	86	70	70	....			
State Prison—Windsor	86	70	70	....	Shoemaking	50	....	50
WEST VIRGINIA.....	275	215	187	28				
Penitentiary—Moundsville..	275	94	89	5	Wagons	65	40	62.6
	....	121	98	23	Whips and brooms....	52	39	49.5
WISCONSIN.....	430	340	340	....			
State Prison—Waupun	430	340	340	....	Boots and shoes.....	50	....	50
DAKOTA.....	87	60	40	20				
Penitentiary—Sioux Falls...	87	60	40	20	Dressing granite and building stone—manufacturing marble monumental work....	20	20	20

RECAPITULATION—By STATES.

STATES AND INSTITUTIONS.	NO. OF PRISONERS.				INDUSTRY.	CONTRACT PRICE—CENTS PER DAY.		
	At work in Institution named....	Under contract.	Able bodied.....	Lighter grade....		Able bodied.....	Lighter grade....	Average.....
UNITED STATES.....	17,259	11,908	10,297	1,611				
Connecticut	234	200	170	30	1 industry	50	25	46.25
Illinois	2,563	1,873	1,803	70	11	52.8	44.7	52.5
Indiana.....	1,218	1,172	1,079	93	7	53.2	35.6	51.8
Iowa.....	414	318	318	3	3	46.9	....	46.9
Kansas.....	801	245	245	3	3	84.4	....	81.4
*Massachusetts	325	216	207	9	3	12.9	10	12.8
Michigan.....	1,341	900	674	226	7	55.01	53.4	54.6
Minnesota.....	395	330	92	238	8	45	45	45
Missouri.....	1,440	869	869	4	4	45.4	....	45.4
New Hampshire.....	112	99	99	2	2	50	....	50
New York.....	5,014	3,610	2,961	546	11	46.75	32.9	44.6
Ohio.....	1,872	1,199	931	265	14	67.75	46.5	63.03
Oregon.....	2-3	170	132	38	1	40	40	40
Rhode Island.....	337	122	74	48	2	41.5	20.4	33.2
Vermont	86	70	70	1	1	50	....	50
West Virginia	275	215	187	28	2	53.2	38.2	55.6
Wisconsin.....	430	340	340	1	1	50	....	50
Dakota.....	87	60	40	20	1	20	20	20

*In Houses of Correction of Lawrence and Springfield only.

TABLE V.—*Contract Prices for Convicts—By Industries.*

INDUSTRIES AND INSTITUTIONS.	SPECIFIC MANUFACTURE.	NUMBER OF PRISONERS.			CONTRACT PRICE— CENTS PER PRISONER PER DAY.		
		Undercontract	Able bodied ...	Lighter grade...	Able bodied ...	Lighter grade...	Average
AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS		294	256	38			
Iowa	Farm implements	120	120		50		50
Michigan.....	Agricultural tools	174	136	38	50	50	50
BOOTS AND SHOES		4,014	3,691	323			
Connecticut	Boots and shoes	200	170	30	50	25	46.25
Illinois	" "	499	489	10	56.25	70.5	62.4
Indiana	" "	225	225		51		51
.....	" "	127	127		55		55
.....	" "	175	125	50	52-60	31	48.9
Kansas	" "	30	30		84.4		84.4
Michigan	" "	135	42	93	50	50	50
Missouri	" "	503	503		45-50		47.5
New York	" "	155	155		27		27
Ohio	" "	50	50		80		80
Wisconsin	" "	340	340		50	50	50
Massachusetts	Heel making	48	48		16	16	16
.....	Shoemaking	52	52		16		16
New York	" "	155	120	35	56	56	56
Rhode Island	" "	110	63	47	40	20	31.5
Vermont	" "	70	70		50		50
Illinois	Shoes (women's)	159	159		18		18
Iowa	" "	94	94		45		45
New York	" "	299	299		62		62
.....	" "	588	530	58	30-75	25.45	50.8
BUILDING MATERIAL		99	89	10			
Illinois	Brickmaking	60	60		77		77
Minnesota	Painters	39	29	10	45		45
CARRIAGES & WAGONS		440	379	61			
Ohio	Children's carriages	35	25	10	81	66	76.7
Kansas	Wagons	148	148		84.4		84.4
Michigan	" "	163	117	46	67	67	67
West Virginia	" "	94	89	5	65	40	62.6
CIGARS AND TOBACCO		225	165	60			
Michigan.....	Cigars	170	160	10	40.50	25	43.8
Ohio	Cigars and cigar boxes	55	5	50	81	42	45.6

Table V.—Continued.

INDUSTRIES AND INSTITUTIONS.	SPECIFIC MANUFACTURE.	NUMBER OF PRISONERS.			CONTRACT PRICE— CENTS PER PRISONER PER DAY.		
		Under contract	Able bodied ...	Lighter grade..	Able bodied ...	Lighter grade..	Average
CLOTHING AND WEAR- ING APPAREL		880	890				
Missouri	Clothing	40	40		35-50		42.5
New York	Collars	60	60		63		63
Indiana	Hosiery and woollen goods	184	184		47		47
Illinois	Knitting and tailoring ..	61	61		55.2		55.2
New York	Knitting socks	535	535		8, 20, 25		17.7
FURNITURE AND HOUSE- KEEPING SUPPLIES		884	819	65			
New Hampshire	Bedsteads, wood	84	84		50		50
Indiana	Brooms	35	17	18	60	31	45.08
Michigan		46	28	18	60	60	60
Massachusetts	Cane-seating chairs	116	107	9	10	10	10
Ohio	Calm-seat chairs	20	20	6	76	50	70
Iowa	Chairs and furniture	104	104		45		45
Michigan	Chairs	179	175	4	60	20	59.1
Indiana	Chairs and cradles	162	162		55		55
Kansas	Furniture	67	67		84.4		84.4
Ohio	Sewing machines	50	40	10	35	35	35
New Hampshire	Window-shade rollers	15	15		50		50
IRON GOODS		3,062	2,321	741			
Minnesota	Blacksmiths	23	3	20	45	45	45
New York	Bolts	50	42	8	31.4	31.4	31.4
Ohio	Bolts and nuts	107	70	37	83	60	74.1
Minnesota	Carpenters' & joiners' tools	61	60	1	83	50	82.5
New York	Foundry	31		31		45	45
Illinois	Hames & saddlery hardw'r	114	100	14	35	25	33.8
Ohio	Hollow-ware	193	110	83	56	56	56
Minnesota	Hollow-ware and castings	125	100	25	55	42.5	52.5
Ohio		170	114	56	81	60	74.08
Minnesota	Machinists	63	12	51	45	45	45
New York	Saddlery hardware	360	12	348	45-50	25	48.33
Ohio		185	185		76		76
Indiana	Shelf hardware	300	275	25	48	48	48
New York	Stoves	875	875		56		56
Oregon		170	132	38	40	40	40
Ohio	Stoves and stove castings.	80	80		75		75
Illinois	Wire and wire fence	143	140	3	82.25	46	81.8
Rhode Island	Wire-work	12	11	1	50	40	49.66
LABORERS		24	24				
Minnesota	Helpers	24	24		45		45
LEATHER GOODS		415	415	36			
Illinois	Harness and collars	127	114	13	61-65, 65	46	61.7
Missouri	Harness and saddlery	173	173		40-45		42.5
Ohio		30	30		80		80
West Virginia	Whips and brooms	121	98	23	52	39	49.5
STONE WORK		338	307	31			
Illinois	Cutting & dressing stone.	110	110		51-73.5		54.6
Minnesota		8	5	3	45	45	45
Illinois	Dressing granite	67	67		56.33-71.5		66.6
Dakota	Dress'g granite & marble.	60	40	20	20	20	20
Illinois	Dressing marble	93	85	8	51-73.2	46	54.2

Table V.—Continued.

INDUSTRIES AND INSTITUTIONS.	SPECIFIC MANUFACTURE.	NUMBER OF PRISONERS.			CONTRACT PRICE— CENTS PER PRISONER PER DAY.		
		Under contract	Able bodied ...	Lighter grade..	Able bodied ..	Lighter grade.	Average
WOODEN GOODS.....		867	701	166			
Ohio	Carriage bodies & shafts.	105	105		76		76
Illinois	Cooperage	204	193	11	50-65	46	58.9
Indiana .....	..	169	169		63		63
Michigan .....	..	33	16	17	60	60	60
Ohio .....	..	45	30	15	75	58	69.33
Indiana	Saddle-trees	20	20		48		48
Missouri .....	..	153	153		40-45		42.2
Minnesota	Wood-workers	138	15	123	45	45	45
MISCELLANEOUS.....		330	250	80			
Minnesota	Bookkeepers	4	4		45		45
Ohio	Brushes and wire-work...	200	120	80	30	20	26
New York	Laundry	126	126		60		60
Totals		11,908	10,297	1611			

TABLE VI.—Contract Prices in 31 Penal Institutions, and for 57 Specified Branches of Industry.

INDUSTRIES.	PRISONERS.			Average price per prisoner, per day—cts.	Estimated earnings per day.
	Under contract	Able-bodied..	Lighter grade....		
Agricultural tools.....	174	136	38	50	\$87 00
Bedsteads.....	84	84		50	42 00
Blacksmithing.....	23	3	20	45	10 35
Bolts.....	50	42	8	31.4	15 70
Bolts and nuts.....	107	70	37	74.11	79 30
Bookkeeping.....	4	4		45	1 80
Boots and shoes.....	2,439	2,256	183	51.54	1,257 44
Brickmaking.....	60	60		77	46 20
Brooms.....	81	45	36	59 75	48 40
Brushes and wire work.....	200	120	80	26	52 00
Cane seating chairs.....	116	107	9	10	11 60
Cane-seat chairs.....	26	20	6	70	18 20
Carpenters and joiners tools.....	61	60	1	82 5	50 32
Carriage bodies and shafts.....	105	115		76	79 80
Chairs.....	179	175	4	59.11	105 81
Chairs and cradles.....	163	162		55	89 10
Chairs and furniture.....	104	104		45	46 80
Children's carriages.....	35	25	10	76 75	26 85
Cigars.....	170	160	10	43 8	74 46
Cigars and cigar boxes.....	55	5	50	45 55	25 05
Clothing.....	40	40		42 5	17 00
Collars.....	60	60		63	87 80
Cooperage.....	451	408	43	61 5	277 59
Cutting and dressing stone.....	118	115	3	53 25	62 83
Dressing granite.....	67	67		66 65	44 62
Dressing granite and marble.....	60	40	20	20	12 00
Dressing marble.....	93	85	8	54.5	50 68
Farm implements.....	120	120		50	60 00
Foundry.....	31		31	45	13 95
Furniture.....	67	67		84.4	56 55
Harness and saddlery hardware.....	114	100	14	33.8	38 53
Harness and collars.....	127	114	13	61.7	78 96
Harness and saddlery.....	203	203		48.04	97 52
Heelmaking.....	48	48		16	7 68
Helpers.....	24	24		45	9 80
Hollowware.....	193	110	83	56	108 08
Hollowware and castings.....	295	214	51	64.98	191 54
Hosiery and woolen goods.....	184	184		47	86 48
Knitting socks.....	535	535		17.6	94 52
Knitting and tailoring.....	61	61		55.2	33 67
Laundry.....	126	126		60	75 60
Machinists.....	13	12	51	45	28 35
Painters.....	39	29	10	45	17 55
Saddlery hardware.....	545	197	348	57.72	314 58
Saddle-trees.....	173	173		43.12	74 61
Sewing machines.....	50	40	10	35	17 50
Shelf hardware.....	300	275	25	48	144 00
Shoemaking.....	387	305	82	42 57	164 75
Shoes.....	1,140	1,082	58	48.18	554 95
Stoves.....	1,045	1,007	38	53 4	558 03
Stoves and stove castings.....	80	80		75	60 00
Wagons.....	504	354	51	72.33	292 95
Whips and brooms.....	121	98	23	49.5	59 89
Window shade rollers.....	15	15		50	7 50
Wire and wire fence.....	143	140	3	81.8	116 97
Wire work.....	12	11	1	49.16	5 90
Wood workers.....	138	15	123	45	62 10
Totals.....	11,908	10,297	1,611	51.24	\$6,102 61

TABLE VII.—*Classification of Penal Institutions, with the Number of Employed and Idle.*

STATES AND KIND OF INSTITUTIONS.	Number of Institutions....	PRISON POPULATION.			PRISONERS EMPLOYED.			Prisoners unemployed....
		Males...	Females	Total...	Males...	Females	Total...	
ALABAMA	1	867	32	899	867	32	899	....
State Prison.....	1	867	32	899	867	32	899	....
ARKANSAS	1	582	15	597	582	15	597	....
State Prison.....	1	582	15	597	582	15	597	....
CALIFORNIA	2	1,607	14	1,621	1,547	14	1,561	60
State Prisons	2	1,607	14	1,621	1,547	14	1,561	60
COLORADO.....	2	450	5	455	431	3	434	21
State Prison.....	1	340	5	345	341	3	344	21
Industrial School.....	1	90	.....	90	90	.....	90	....
CONNECTICUT	3	712	218	930	643	207	850	80
State Prison.....	1	299	4	303	230	4	234	69
Industrial School.....	1	.....	214	214	.....	203	203	11
Reform School.....	1	413	.....	413	413	.....	413	.....
DELAWARE	3	86	3	89	.....	.....	.....	89
County Jails	3	86	3	89	.....	.....	.....	89
FLORIDA	1	197	.....	197	197	.....	197	....
State Prison.....	1	197	.....	197	197	.....	197	....
GEORGIA	1	1,620	39	1,659	1,620	39	1,659	....
State Prison.....	1	1,620	39	1,659	1,620	39	1,659	....
ILLINOIS.....	5	3,203	118	3,321	2,730	89	2,817	502
State Prisons	2	2,274	34	2,308	2,234	31	2,265	40
Reform School	1	312	.....	312	299	.....	297	15
House of Correction	2	617	84	701	196	55	251	447
INDIANA	3	1,737	.....	1,737	1,714	.....	1,714	23
State Prisons	2	1,301	.....	1,301	1,278	.....	1,278	23
Reform School	1	436	.....	436	436	.....	436	....

Table VII.—Continued.

STATES AND KIND OF INSTITUTIONS.	Number of In- stitutions....	PRISON POPULA- TION.			PRISONERS EM- PLOYED.			Prisoners un- employed....
		Males...	Females	Total....	Males...	Females	Total...	
IOWA.....	3	998	13	1,011	892	13	905	106
State Prisons.....	2	706	13	721	708	13	721	...
Industrial School.....	1	290	...	290	184	...	184	106
KANSAS.....	2	1,360	16	1,376	1,342	16	1,358	18
State Prison.....	1	803	16	819	785	16	801	18
United States Military Prison.....	1	557	...	557	557	...	557	...
KENTUCKY.....	2	1,300	84	1,384	1,300	84	1,384	...
State Prison.....	1	1,104	38	1,142	1,104	38	1,142	...
House of Refuge.....	1	196	46	242	196	46	242	...
LOUISIANA.....	1	820	44	864	820	44	864	...
State Prison.....	1	820	44	864	820	44	864	...
MAINE.....	1	180	3	183	174	3	177	6
State Prison.....	1	180	3	183	174	3	177	6
MARYLAND.....	2	1,183	31	1,214	491	31	522	692
State Prison.....	1	491	31	522	471	31	502	20
City Jail.....	1	692	...	692	20	...	20	672
MASSACHUSETTS.....	10	3,079	740	3,819	2,749	649	3,398	421
State Prisons.....	3	850	236	1,086	674	201	875	211
Houses of Correction.....	4	1,208	126	1,334	1,131	122	1,253	81
Jail and House of Correction.....	1	146	18	164	146	18	164	...
House of Industry and Reform School.....	2	875	360	1,235	798	308	1,106	129
MICHIGAN.....	5	2,378	250	2,628	2,377	250	2,627	1
State Prison.....	1	786	1	786	785	1	786	...
Houses of Correction.....	2	1,153	68	1,221	1,153	68	1,221	...
Industrial Home and Reform School.....	2	440	181	621	439	181	620	1
MINNESOTA.....	2	539	10	549	515	10	525	24
State Prison.....	1	409	10	419	385	10	395	24
Reform School.....	1	130	...	130	130	...	130	...
MISSISSIPPI.....	1	780	32	812	780	32	812	...
State Prison.....	1	780	32	812	780	32	812	...
MISSOURI.....	2	1,865	135	2,000	1,604	133	1,737	263
State Prison.....	1	1,660	35	1,695	1,405	35	1,440	255
Workhouse.....	1	205	100	305	199	98	297	8
NEBRASKA.....	2	363	13	376	363	13	376	...
State Prison.....	1	307	...	307	307	...	307	...
Reform School.....	1	56	13	69	56	13	69	...

Table VII.—Continued.

STATES AND KIND OF INSTITUTIONS.	Number of in- stitutions....	PRISON POPULA- TION.			PRISONERS EM- PLOYED.			Prisoners un- employed....
		Males..	Females	Total....	Males...	Females	Total....	
NEVADA.....	1	130	2	132	126	2	128	4
State Prison.....	1	130	2	132	126	2	128	4
NEW HAMPSHIRE.....	2	208	16	224	204	16	220	4
State Prison.....	1	114	2	116	110	2	112	4
Industrial School.....	1	94	14	108	94	14	108	....
NEW JERSEY.....	4	1,519	60	1,579	1,325	60	1,385	194
State Prison.....	1	844	29	873	697	29	726	147
Reform School.....	1	284	....	284	237	....	237	47
County Jails.....	2	391	31	422	391	31	422	....
NEW YORK.....	12	8,252	780	9,032	7,474	670	8,144	838
State Prisons.....	4	3,670	....	3,670	3,311	....	3,311	359
County Prisons.....	6	3,503	543	4,046	3,044	433	3,517	529
Houses of Refuge.....	2	1,079	237	1,316	1,079	237	1,316	....
NORTH CAROLINA.....	1	1,020	65	1,085	1,020	65	1,085	....
State Prison.....	1	1,020	65	1,085	1,020	65	1,085	....
OHIO.....	5	2,784	440	3,224	2,665	430	3,095	129
State Prison.....	1	1,474	24	1,498	1,423	24	1,447	51
Workhouses.....	2	710	132	842	642	122	764	78
Industrial Schools.....	2	600	284	884	600	284	884	....
OREGON.....	1	290	1	291	282	1	283	8
State Prison.....	1	290	1	291	282	1	283	8
PENNSYLVANIA.....	8	4,870	663	5,533	4,099	649	4,748	785
State Prisons.....	2	1,816	42	1,858	1,479	40	1,519	339
County Prisons.....	2	465	39	504	336	29	365	139
Workhouse and House of Correction.....	2	1,954	311	2,265	1,649	309	1,958	307
House of Refuge.....	1	393	183	576	398	183	581	....
Reform School.....	1	237	88	325	237	88	325	....
RHODE ISLAND.....	3	665	79	744	661	79	740	4
State Prison.....	1	316	25	341	312	25	337	4
Workhouse.....	1	179	54	233	179	54	233	....
Reform School.....	1	170	....	170	170	....	170	....
SOUTH CAROLINA.....	1	901	44	945	901	44	945	....
State Prison.....	1	901	44	945	901	44	945	....
TENNESSEE.....	1	1,293	46	1,339	1,293	46	1,339	....
State Prison.....	1	1,293	46	1,339	1,293	46	1,339	....
TEXAS.....	1	2,506	33	2,539	2,359	33	2,392	147
State Prison.....	1	2,506	33	2,539	2,359	33	2,392	147

Table VII.—Continued.

STATES AND KIND OF INSTITUTIONS.	Number of Institutions....	PRISON POPULATION.			PRISONERS EMPLOYED.			Prisoners unemployed....
		Males...	Females	Total....	Males...	Females	Total....	
VERMONT.....	2	150	20	170	150	20	170	....
State Prison.....	1	83	3	86	83	3	86	....
Reform School.....	1	67	17	84	67	17	84	....
VIRGINIA.....	1	956	68	1,024	956	68	1,024	....
State Prison.....	1	956	68	1,024	956	68	1,024	....
WEST VIRGINIA.....	1	269	6	275	269	6	275	....
State Prison.....	1	269	6	275	269	6	275	....
WISCONSIN.....	3	1,019	33	1,052	989	33	1,022	30
State Prison.....	1	447	13	460	417	13	430	30
House of Correction.....	1	274	20	294	274	20	294	....
Industrial School.....	1	298	.....	298	298	.....	298	....
THE TERRITORIES.....	6	420	2	422	327	2	329	93
United States Prisons.....	6	420	2	422	327	2	329	93

RECAPITULATION.

STATES AND KINDS OF INSTITUTIONS.	Number of Institutions....	PRISON POPULATION.			PRISONERS EMPLOYED.			Prisoners unemployed....
		Males...	Females	Total....	Males...	Females	Total....	
UNITED STATES.....	108	53,158	4,173	57,331	48,838	3,901	52,739	4592
State Prisons.....	47	34,133	1,005	35,138	32,332	966	33,298	1840
United States Prisons.....	7	977	2	979	884	2	886	93
County and City Jails, Workhouses and Houses of Correction.....	30	11,583	1,529	13,112	9,403	1,359	10,762	2350
Industrial and Reform Schools.....	20	4,792	1,171	5,963	4,546	1,108	5,654	309
Houses of Refuge.....	4	1,673	466	2,139	1,673	466	2,139	....

TABLE VIII.—Occupations Pursued in Prisons.

KINDS OF WORK.	No. EMPLOYED.			KINDS OF WORK.	No. EMPLOYED.		
	Males	Females..	Total		Males	Females..	Total
Adobe and buildings.....	113		113	Dressing granite.....	170		170
Agricultural tools.....	174		174	Dressing granite and marble.....	60		60
Bakers—crackers.....	40		40	Dressmaking.....		40	40
Baking and kitchen.....	24		24	Dressing marble.....	246		246
Baskets.....	2		2	Farming implements.....	120		120
Beds.....	14		14	Farm implements and wagons.....	291	15	306
Bedsteads—wood.....	84		84	Foundry and machinery.....	74		74
Blacksmiths.....	286		286	Foundry workers.....	131		131
Blacksmiths, painters, furniture and wagons.....	40		40	Furniture.....	264		264
Blacksmiths, masons, tailors, carpenters, farm.....	393		398	Hame and saddlery hardware.....	100	14	114
Bolts.....	42	8	50	Harness and collars.....	127		127
Bolts and nuts.....	107		107	Harness and saddles.....	203		203
Bone, ash.....	10		10	Harness.....	163		163
Bone-workers.....	6		6	Hats.....	314		314
Bookkeepers.....	4		4	Heelmaking.....	48		48
Boots and shoes.....	2,799		2,799	Hollowware.....	193		193
Bricklayers.....	14		14	Hollowware and castings.....	295		295
Brickmaking.....	634		631	Hose.....	50		50
Brooms.....	321		321	Hosiery.....		75	75
Brooms and brushes.....	8	23	30	Hosiery and knitting.....	30		30
Brooms and trunks.....	9		9	Hosiery and woolen goods.....	184		184
Brush blocks and backs.....	15		15	Jute.....	310		310
Brushes.....	836	35	871	Knitting.....	4		4
Brushes and shoes.....	292	47	339	Knitting, sewing, etc.....		181	181
Brushes and wire work.....	160	40	200	Knitting socks.....	535		535
Building boats.....	2		2	Knitting and tailoring.....	61		61
Cane.....	271		271	Laundry.....	155	82	237
Caning chairs.....	1,147	9	1,156	Leather.....	17		17
Cane seat chairs.....	91		91	Machinists.....	100		100
Carpenters.....	187		187	Matmaking.....	35		35
Carpenters and blacksmiths.....	17		17	Mattresses.....	4	3	7
Carpenters and joiners tools.....	110		110	Milling.....	2		2
Carriage bodies and shafts.....	105		105	Moldings.....	55		55
Carriages and trimmings.....	60		60	Nebraska Mfg. Company.....	121		121
Castings.....	10		10	Overalls.....		3	3
Chair cane seating.....	93		93	Painters.....	65		65
Chairs.....	1,079		1,079	Pantaloon.....	30		30
Chairs and cradles.....	162		162	Paper boxes.....		38	38
Chairs, flag seating.....	35		35	Planing mill.....	11		11
Chairs, seating.....	35	54	89	Printing.....	26		26
Chairs and woodwork.....	24		24	Saddlery hardware.....	525	20	545
Childrens' carriages.....	35		35	Saddle trees.....	173		173
Cigars.....	313		313	Saddle trees and stirrups.....	35		35
Cigars and cigar boxes.....	55		55	Seamstresses.....		231	231
Clothing.....	811	27	838	Sewing.....	25		25
Coal mining.....	1,652	19	1,671	Sewing and knitting.....		284	284
Coats and vests.....		40	40	Sewing machines.....	50		50
Collars.....	160		160	Shelf hardware.....	300		300
Coopers.....	797		797	Shirts.....	334	129	463
Cottages.....	5		5	Shirts and laundry.....	100		100
Cuffs.....	100		100	Shoemaking.....	944	13	957
Cutting and dressing stone.....	482		482	Shoemaking and tailoring.....	26		26
Doors.....	191		191	Shoes.....	3,063	31	3,094
				Socks.....	75		75

Table VIII.—Continued.

KINDS OF WORK.	No. EMPLOYED.			KINDS OF WORK.	No. EMPLOYED.		
	Males.....	Females...	Total		Males.....	Females...	Total
Steampipe fitters	2	2	4	Weaving carpet.....	11		11
Stockings.....	467	10	477	Wheels and spokes.....	35		35
Stoves.....	1,045		1,045	Whips and brooms.....	121		121
Stoves and hollowware.....	114		114	Window shade rollers.....	15		15
Stoves and stove castings.....	80		80	Wire and wire fence.....	143		143
Tailoring.....	451	40	491	Wirework.....	12		12
Tinware.....	56		56	Woodworkers.....	198		198
Tinware, toys, garden, etc.....	130		130	Woolen boots.....	152		152
Tobacco.....	94		94	Woolen goods.....	29		29
Upholstering.....	2		2				
Wagons.....	959	32	991	Total.....	28,826	1,567	30,393
Weaving.....	35		35				

Unskilled Occupations Pursued in Prisons.

KINDS OF WORK.	No. EMPLOYED.			KINDS OF WORK.	No. EMPLOYED.		
	Males.....	Females...	Total		Males.....	Females...	Total
Breaking stone.....	62	78	140	Green house.....	10		10
Building and working on railroad.....	515	11	526	Helpers.....	24		24
Building railroads and levees.....	820	44	864	Improvements and repairs.....	7		7
Building railroads, mining, etc.....	1,104	38	1,142	Mining coal and burning coke.....	400	15	415
Burning lime.....	46		46	Mining coal and constructing.....	291		291
Chopping wood.....	225		225	Mining iron ore.....	130		130
Constructing prisons and roads.....	420		420	Phosphate works.....	76		76
Constructing public sewer.....	65		65	Pickling cotton waste.....	8		8
Constructing public streets.....	80		80	Plantation.....	1,148		1,148
Constructing public works.....	1,166		1,166	Quarrying granite.....	200		200
Constructing roads and work on plantation.....	197		197	Quarrying lime stone and burning lime.....	23		23
Cutting timber and sawing lumber.....	55		55	Quarrying stone.....	1,170	4	1,174
Engine house.....	11		11	Quarrying stone, breaking and grading.....	147		147
Farm, construction, garden and prison duties.....	1,530	65	1,595	Quarrying stone and crushing.....	210		210
Farm and garden.....	276		276	Quarrying stone and cutting.....	361		361
Farm, garden and live stock.....	56		56	Rag cutting.....	139	46	185
Farming.....	1,891	30	1,921	Sawing lumber.....	21		21
Gardening.....	51		51	Sewing rags.....	14	4	18
General work.....	154	3	157	Prison duties.....	6,854	1,996	8,850
Grading public park.....	55		55	Total.....	20,012	2,334	22,346

SUMMARY.

	Male.	Female.	Total.
Skilled.....	28,826	1,567	30,393
Unskilled.....	20,012	2,334	22,346
Total.....	48,838	3,901	52,739

TABLE IX—*Occupations of 51,034 Convicts Before Incarceration—As Reported by Themselves.*

AGRICULTURAL.

Cheese maker.....	1	Farmers.....	2,767
Cowboys.....	27		
Dairymen.....	8	Total.....	2,851
Drovers.....	48		

BUSINESS—PROFESSIONAL AND OFFICIAL.

Agents.....	162	Lightning rod man.....	1
Acrobats.....	1	Liverymen.....	7
Actors.....	29	Manufacturers.....	3
Aeronaut.....	1	Merchants.....	51
Architects.....	12	Music dealers.....	2
Artists.....	14	Musicians.....	69
Auctioneers.....	3	Oilmen.....	4
Barbers.....	591	Peddlers.....	222
Bankers.....	6	Physicians.....	59
Bottlers.....	6	Policemen.....	8
Chemists.....	68	Postmasters.....	2
Chiropodists.....	4	Preachers.....	12
Civil engineers.....	20	Professor.....	1
Clairvoyant.....	1	Publishers.....	2
Collectors.....	3	Reporters.....	5
Dentists.....	12	Restauranteurs.....	6
Deputy sheriffs.....	2	Saloonkeepers.....	81
Distiller.....	1	Salesmen.....	120
Editors.....	7	Showmen.....	13
Elevator men.....	3	Speculators.....	3
Fishermen.....	8	Stenographers.....	3
Florists.....	158	Stockmen.....	13
Grocers.....	133	Students.....	34
Horsemen.....	542	Surveyors.....	2
Hotelmen.....	28	Teachers.....	76
House movers.....	2	Traders.....	15
Ice men.....	5	Undertakers.....	4
Interpreters.....	2	Veterinarians.....	19
Junk dealers.....	13		
Lawyers.....	41	Total.....	2,755

CLERICAL AND PERSONAL SERVICE.

Bill posters.....	2	Nurses.....	74
Boot blacks.....	110	Operators.....	85
Bartenders.....	195	Porters.....	138
Book-keepers.....	220	Servants.....	3,385
Cashboy.....	1	Shoegirls.....	4
Chimney sweeps.....	2	Stewards.....	24
Clerks.....	63	Store-keepers.....	3
Cooks.....	1,101	Waiters.....	696
Housekeepers.....	435	Waitresses.....	25
Janitors.....	28	Watchmen.....	9
Lamp lighters.....	2	Weighers.....	2
Mail carriers.....	3		
Messengers.....	46	Total.....	7,280
Newsboys.....	59		

CRIMINAL.

Gamblers.....	3	Thieves.....	27
Prostitutes.....	427	Tramps.....	73
Horse thief.....	1		
Sandbagger.....	1	Total.....	532

SKILLED PRODUCTIVE.

Apprentices.....	7	Photographers.....	25
Bakers.....	409	Piano men.....	7
Bookbinders.....	57	Pickers.....	3
Brewers.....	59	Plasterers.....	187
Broom makers.....	52	Polishers.....	58
Brush makers.....	45	Pop makers.....	4
Builders.....	16	Potters.....	26
Butchers.....	505	Pressmen.....	19
Burlap maker.....	1	Printers.....	391
Carriage trimmers.....	7	Quarrymen.....	16
Caulkers.....	30	Riggers.....	9
Carvers.....	16	Roofers.....	62
Cloth workers.....	949	Rope makers.....	9
Comb makers.....	2	Roughers.....	4
Confectioners.....	53	Rubber workers.....	2
Dyers.....	35	Saddle-tree makers.....	10
Engravers.....	28	Sail makers.....	25
Factory hands.....	107	Salt makers.....	2
Furriers.....	3	Sewing machinists.....	13
Gas fitters.....	205	Shoemakers.....	937
Gilders.....	10	Skin dressers.....	23
Glass blowers.....	172	Slaters.....	6
Glove cutter.....	1	Smelters.....	3
Grinders.....	2	Soap makers.....	13
Hatters.....	57	Steam fitters.....	89
Jewelers.....	46	Stocking pressers.....	6
Knitters.....	10	Stone workers.....	35
Laundress.....	672	Stove makers.....	25
Leather workers.....	260	Sugar boiler.....	1
Loom fixers.....	2	Telegraph repairers.....	8
Masons.....	640	Tobacconists.....	354
Mattress makers.....	4	Turners.....	43
Millers.....	55	Umbrella makers.....	12
Milliners.....	8	Upholsterers.....	85
Mill wrights.....	8	Varnishers.....	36
Miners.....	303	Watch makers.....	47
Moulders.....	657	Weavers.....	259
Metal workers.....	2,136	Wheel wrights.....	14
Packers.....	166	Whip makers.....	4
Painters.....	1,200	Wig maker.....	1
Paper hangers.....	50	Wire workers.....	24
Paper makers.....	17	Woolen mill hands.....	22
Paper rollers.....	2	Wood workers.....	1,789
Pattern makers.....	13		
Paviors.....	13	Total.....	13,803

UNSKILLED.

Ditchers.....	2	Saw mill hands.....	19
Hoe carriers.....	6	Teamsters.....	1,363
Laborers.....	14,855	Whitewashers.....	41
Lumbermen.....	32		
Oystermen.....	52	Total.....	16,370

TRANSPORTATION SERVICE.

Baggagemen.....	5	Stevedores.....	11
Boatmen.....	292	Stokers.....	36
Railroad men.....	1,453		
Steamboatmen.....	8	Total.....	2,877
Sailors.....	1,072		

MISCELLANEOUS.

Hunters	6	Salvationist.....	1
Manipulator	1	Soldiers.....	62
Penitentiary guard.....	1	Vaqueros.....	44
Phrenologist	1	No occupation	4,448
Piecer.....	1	Total	4,566
Roller skater.....	1		

RECAPITULATION.

Agricultural occupations	2,851
Business, professional and official occupation	2,755
Clerical and personal service	7,280
Criminal occupations	532
Skilled productive occupations.....	13,803
Unskilled occupations.....	16,370
Transportation service.....	2,877
Miscellaneous and no occupations.....	4,566
Total.....	51,034
Number employed at skilled occupations before incarceration	13,803
Number of occupations at which they were employed	89
Number not employed at skilled occupations before incarceration.....	37,231

TABLE X.—*Illinois Penal Institutions.*

STATE INSTITUTIONS AND EMPLOYMENTS.	PRISON POPULATION.			PRISONERS AT WORK.			PRISONERS IDLE.	METHOD OF EMPLOYMENT.				Contract price per day, cents.
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	For want of employment	For other reasons	Under contract.	On public account	In prison duties	
<i>Illinois Penitentiary, Joliet.</i>	1,533	20	1,603	1,543	20	1,563	....	40	1,304	37	222	....
Boots and shoes	....	....	....	499	....	499	....	....	499	....	....	62.4
Cooperage	....	....	....	204	....	204	....	....	204	....	....	58.9
Granite work	....	....	....	67	....	67	....	....	67	....	....	66.6
Marble work	....	....	....	93	....	93	....	....	93	....	....	54.5
Stone work	....	....	....	110	....	110	....	....	110	....	....	54.6
Harness and collars	....	....	....	127	....	127	....	....	127	....	....	61.7
Knitting and tailoring	....	....	....	61	....	61	....	....	61	....	....	55.2
Wire and wire fence	....	....	....	143	....	143	....	....	143	....	....	81.8
Machinists	....	....	....	37	....	37	....	....	37	....	....	....
Prison duties	....	....	....	202	20	222	....	....	....	....	222	....
<i>Southern Penitentiary, Chester</i>	691	14	705	691	14	705	....	....	410	155	140	....
Boots and shoes	....	....	....	225	....	225	....	....	225	....	....	51.
Brick making	....	....	....	60	....	60	....	....	60	....	....	77.
Foundry	....	....	....	125	....	125	....	....	125	....	....	55.5
Construction	....	....	....	155	....	155	....	....	155	....	....	....
Prison duties	....	....	....	126	14	140	....	....	....	....	140	....
<i>Reform School, Pontiac</i>	312	....	312	297	....	297	....	15	159	103	35	....
Shoemaking	....	....	....	159	....	159	....	....	159	....	....	18.
Tailoring	....	....	....	15	....	15	....	....	15	....	....	....
Laundry	....	....	....	15	....	15	....	....	15	....	....	....
Baking	....	....	....	22	....	22	....	....	22	....	....	....
Engine room	....	....	....	5	....	5	....	....	5	....	....	....
Farm and garden	....	....	....	46	....	46	....	....	46	....	....	....
Prison duties	....	....	....	35	....	35	....	....	....	....	35	....
Totals	2,586	34	2,620	2,531	34	2,565	....	55	1,873	206	397	....
LOCAL INSTITUTIONS.												
<i>House of Correction, Chicago</i>	577	69	646	159	40	199	429	18	....	7	110	82
Canseating chairs	....	....	....	110	....	110	....	....	....	7	....	....
Improvements, etc	....	....	....	7	....	7	....	....	....	....	....	....
Prison duties	....	....	....	42	40	82	....	....	....	....	....	82
<i>House of Correction, Peoria</i>	40	15	55	40	15	55	....	....	....	38	....	17
Brick making in summer, broom making in winter	....	....	....	38	....	38	....	....	....	38	....	....
Prison duties	....	....	....	2	15	17	....	....	....	....	....	17
Totals	3,203	118	3,321	2,730	89	2,819	429	73	1,873	340	110	496

TABLE XI.—*Convicts at Work in Illinois—By Industries.*

INDUSTRIES.	NUMBER EMPLOYED.			METHOD OF EMPLOYMENT.			
	Males.....	Females...	Total.....	Under con- tract.....	On public account..	Piece price plan	In prison duties
Baking, etc.....	22	.....	22	.....	22	.....	.....
Boots and shoes	883	.....	883	883	.....	.....	.....
Brick making	60	.....	60	60	.....	.....	.....
Broom making	38	.....	38	.....	38	.....	.....
Cane seating chairs.....	110	.....	110	.....	.....	110	.....
Construction, etc	162	.....	162	.....	162	.....	.....
Cooperage.....	204	.....	204	204	.....	.....	.....
Farm and garden	46	.....	46	.....	46	.....	.....
Foundry.....	125	.....	125	125	.....	.....	.....
Harness and collars	127	.....	127	127	.....	.....	.....
Knitting, etc.....	61	.....	61	61	.....	.....	.....
Laundry.....	15	.....	15	.....	15	.....	.....
Machinists.....	42	.....	42	.....	42	.....	.....
Prison duties.....	407	89	496	.....	.....	.....	496
Stone work.....	270	.....	270	270	.....	.....	.....
Tailoring.....	15	.....	15	.....	15	.....	.....
Wire and wire fence.....	143	.....	143	143	.....	.....	.....
Totals.....	2,750	89	2,816	1,873	340	110	496

The foregoing tables are sufficiently explicit in themselves to require but brief comment.

Table I shows a total population in 108 penal and reformatory institutions of 57,831. Of this number 53,158 are males and 4,193 are females. There are 52,739 at work, of whom 48,838 are males and 3,901 are females; leaving 4,592 idle, of whom 3,321 are idle for want of employment and 1,271 are incapacitated.

The analysis of the methods of employment shows that 14,939 are at work under the contract system, 9,291 are leased out, 2,980 are employed on the piece-price plan, 16,679 on public account, and 8,850 are occupied in prison duties. The States in which the contract system prevails are Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, New Hampshire, New York, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Texas, Vermont, Virginia, West Virginia and Wisconsin.

In three of these States, however, the contract system has recently been abolished by law, and the practice in those States will become extinct upon the expiration of existing contracts. These are New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio. The contract system has also been entirely abolished recently in California and New Jersey, in both of which States the piece-price plan has been substituted. A law was also passed by the last legislature of the State of Michigan forbidding the contracting of convicts, but it failed of the approval of the Governor upon technical grounds. Thus the States of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan and California have arrayed themselves against the system, and four of them are adopting other methods of utilizing the labor of convicts.

The lease system is seen to be still in vogue in Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and the new State of Nebraska. Eight States have some portion of their convicts at work on the piece-price plan and two of them their entire prison force; while twenty-seven States have more or less prisoners at work on public account, though none of them have yet made the system universal.

Table II exhibits an analysis of the prison work of the country by Industries, showing the number of convicts employed in each of a group of fourteen general lines of productive labor, besides the number engaged in miscellaneous labor and prison duties. This shows a much larger number of convicts engaged in the various forms of boot and shoe manufacture than in any other industry. The whole number thus employed is 7,076, while the manufactures

of wearing apparel, furniture and hollow-ware come next in importance in the order given. The kinds of work done throughout the country by convict labor are here fully set forth in detail, and the extent to which each industry is carried on, together with the plan under which it is prosecuted.

Table III is a special arrangement of the prison population to show the number employed under each of the four general systems of labor, together with the proportion at work in the manifold duties about the several institutions. The total number thus employed is seen to be 8,850 or 16+ per cent of the whole.

Table IV is an exhibit of the prices paid for convicts under the contract system in different States and industries. This table covers the prices paid in 31 institutions in 18 States and Territories; the returns from other States are defective in this regard, and consequently only those institutions appear from which the facts as to prices were obtained.

Convicts here are classified as able-bodied and as of lighter grade in order to account for differences in price sometimes reported under the same contract.

This distinction as to the grade of convicts, based on their skill or physical abilities, is not made in all institutions, but in many of the larger ones the two classes are let at two prices, because of the respective value of their labor. There are also different prices paid for the able-bodied, or first-class convicts, by the same contractors bidding them in at different sales. It is the object of this table to show how prices range in the different States, both for the able-bodied and the less efficient convicts, where the two grades are recognized, and for good and bad taken together where they are let in that way. Averages are extended for each industry based upon the respective numbers employed in each at the rates given.

The recapitulation also shows the averages for all convicts for all industries for each State. These, however, cannot be regarded of much value, except for States whose prisons all appear in the table.

Table V is a counterpart of the foregoing, being a classification by industries, in order to bring out the ruling rates at which convicts are let in like industries, but different States. These industries are grouped under twelve general heads, and the specific branches of manufacture, and the prices paid for convicts in each are given, preserving the reference to States and institutions.

In the succeeding table (VI) an alphabetical arrangement of industries, amplified into 57 specific branches, shows more definitely

still just what occupations are reported; the number of convicts in the 31 given institutions employed in each; and an average of the various contract prices paid for the service indicated. A column is also extended showing the amount of daily earnings of the given convicts at the average price.

This series of tables referring to contract prices, it will be observed, embraces the record of 11,908 convicts, out of a total employed under contract of 14,939, and not that of the whole number. The presentation is ample, however, to indicate the commercial value which is attached to the labor of convicts in the various States, and the various industries under the contract system.

Table VII is a classification of the penal institutions whose statistics enter into this presentation, as to their number, character and population. This table indicates at a glance what institutions from each State are represented, and the recapitulation presents a summary analysis of their relation to State or local government.

Table VIII consists of an analysis of those prison industries which may be considered skilled employments, and is succeeded by a corresponding table of the unskilled labor employed in prisons. The specific occupation in each case is given as reported, and the general results shown are that 30,393 convicts are employed in skilled, and 22,346 in unskilled labor.

Following this is table IX, showing the reported occupation of 51,034 convicts prior to incarceration. These occupations are grouped in seven general classes, indicating the various spheres in life the given convicts occupied, upon their own statement, previous to imprisonment. The classification shows the numbers which have come from business, professional, industrial, or other pursuits, and the recapitulation brings out the fact that out of 51,034 convicts, only 13,805 even claim to have been engaged in skilled productive industries while at liberty, and the branches of industry in which they purport to have been engaged are 89 in number.

On the other hand it appears from preceding tables that of the whole prison population 30,393 are employed in skilled occupations, and the number of these, as shown by the recapitulation of table II, is clearly reducible to 12. The facts thus brought out throw some light upon the relative productive capacity of the convicted classes before and after conviction. Assuming that those so reported were actively engaged in the skilled productive industries given, prior to confinement, it appears, first, that only one-fourth (27 per cent) of the whole number were so employed at most, and

second, that their labors were distributed in 89 directions. As an element affecting industrial competition this number of workers thus distributed could have no influence at all comparable to that of more than twice the number concentrated upon 12 industries, pursued without intermission and upon the factory system, in prisons.

Tables X and XI are devoted to the statistics of prison work in Illinois alone, and show the number employed in three State institutions, and in the houses of correction at Chicago and Peoria. In regard to other local prisons there have been found none in which specific industries are carried on other than street cleaning or prison duties. These tables show 1,873 inmates of State institutions at work under the contract system exclusively, which is a greater number thus employed than in any other State except New York, where the system is in process of extinction. These convicts are employed in eight industries as follows: In the manufacture of boots and shoes 883, brickmaking 60, cooperage 204, hollow-ware 125, harness and collars 127, knitting, etc., 61, stone work 270, wire and wire fence 143. There are 340 at work for account of the various institutions, 110 at work in Chicago on the piece-price plan, cane-seating chairs, and 496 engaged in prison duties.

This series of tables affords abundant data upon which to judge of the character and extent of prison industries in the State and the United States.

It is not attempted to show what proportion of all industrial operatives are in confinement, and what proportion are at liberty, in order to reach a speculative conclusion as to the degree of competition the latter suffer at the hands of the former, because it is found that the data for such a comparison are not afforded by the census tables of 1880, which are the only source from which to expect them.

It is true those tables show that 120,558 males over 16 years of age are employed in the manufactures of Illinois. Of these, however, 104,020 are classified as engaged in 99 specific industries, while 16,538 are thrown into a general class as employed in "other industries."

But the prison industries carried on in this State, and against which the charge of injurious competition is laid, are only *eight* in number, and in only one instance does the census classification afford data parallel with that presented in regard to any of these eight industries.

It would be manifestly improper to assume that because 120,558 workmen are engaged in all manufactures in this State, and only 2,819 convicts are at work in prisons, that the degree of prison competition must be in the ratio these figures sustain to each other. Nor does it facilitate a true conclusion to select from the census classification those industries which most nearly correspond in character with prison industries, for save in the one instance of boot and shoe manufactures, no parallel can legitimately be established between any of them and nominally corresponding prison industries. In each case certain factors are found wanting which invalidate the whole calculation, and render the results of the comparison misleading and untrustworthy.

But it is not at all necessary to introduce this sort of mathematical calculation into the discussion. The harmful effects of convict labor are sufficiently susceptible of demonstration, without recourse to any computation as to the exact percentage of that injury, or, in fact, without regard to that alleged percentage when found.

For this reason the attempt to deduce a theoretic degree of competition from a comparison of the kind indicated is not made. Both the fact of such competition and the extent of it will, it is believed, be made to appear by much simpler and more convincing testimony.

It remains, therefore, to proceed with the consideration of the contract system as an evil the fruits of which are many and odious in fact, notwithstanding the disposition to establish their insignificance and innocence in theory.

CHAPTER III.

THE CONTRACT SYSTEM VERSUS OTHER SYSTEMS.

THE CONTRACT SYSTEM AS A HINDRANCE TO REFORMATION.

As has already been indicated, there are two distinct issues, made by different classes, and from different motives, against the contract system. Both of these it is proposed to consider, though it is recognized that the industrial issue is more especially the province of this Bureau. As both parties, however, are allied in a common desire for a better system than the present, no consideration of the subject would be complete which failed to state the case of both.

The prison reformers and social scientists, in a word the experts in penology, who have devoted their lives to the study of the interests of the criminal classes as related to the welfare of society, and are therefore the highest authority upon the subject, demand the removal of the contractor because of the hindrance his presence offers to the most wise and effectual treatment of the prisoner as a ward of the State.

It is deemed essential both to disciplinary and reformatory success in prison management, that the convict shall remain under the sole supervision, guidance and control of the officers of the State whose laws have been violated, and whose social welfare has been jeopardized. It is to society as represented by the State, that penalties are due, and the officer charged with the correction of the criminal should, it is believed, exercise his functions untrammelled by any foreign agencies or influences.

But the contract system involves two sets of officials, one representing the State, and the other the interests of the contractor, which are of necessity private, personal and mercenary; foreign to the highest purposes of the State, namely, the protection of society by the reformation of the convict; and practically obstructive of

those purposes, because of the constant presence of the taskmaster during all the convict's working hours.

The contractor has no interest in the convict save in his physical endurance, and no responsibilities whatever, save to pay his per diem; his only concern is that the convict shall earn that per diem and as much more as possible; his interests lie in the longest possible detention of the best men; it is in his power, in a measure, to prolong the term of such men by magnifying petty offences and impairing the prisoner's good-time record; his power is absolute under his contract for a given term of years, while that of the warden is subordinate to the contract, and his tenure of office is contingent, possibly, upon the favor of the contractor himself, or his political allies.

Thus in case of conflict between these authorities, one representing private and the other public interests, the advantage may ultimately rest with the contractor, owing to his independence and possible power, rather than with the accredited officer of the State, and nominal head of the institution. At best the warden is restricted in the exercise of his personal influence and authority, and may under this system be virtually reduced to a mere keeper of prisoners—a turnkey in the service of a prison manufactory. This division of authority and conflict of interests is real and inseparable from the contract system, however harmonious outward relations may be. The two interests have nothing in common save the detention of the convict; beyond that motives and purposes at once diverge. The contractor demands only the time and muscle of the convict for a given number of hours per day; the warden and society care nothing for that labor in itself, but only as a means to the higher end of correction and reformation. The contractor has absolute possession of his man for ten hours a day, while the warden becomes his custodian only at night.

This subjection of the higher functions of the warden to the business interests of the contractor, and the consequent sacrifice of reformatory measures to those which are simply remunerative, are the features of the contract system which especially condemn it in the estimation of those who give the subject the broadest consideration. The sentiments of some of the more distinguished prison authorities upon this phase of the contract system, as expressed by themselves in their published utterances, will more forcibly define their position and their reasons for holding it.

TESTIMONY OF PRISON AUTHORITIES ON THE CONTRACT SYSTEM.

Rev. F. H. Wines, Secretary of the State Board of Charities of Illinois, says:

"Now the objections which penologists see to the contract system of labor in prisons is that it is a great obstacle, if not an insuperable obstacle to the introduction of a truly reformatory prison discipline, for which they have for a hundred years been anxiously and earnestly contending. They can never give their consent to it. The utmost that can be asked of them is passive endurance of it, as a social evil, sure in time to be overthrown by the advance of a higher intelligence and a more unselfish standard of morality. They are even disposed almost to welcome the agitation of the labor question, in so far as it may serve to attract the attention of the thoughtful to the great question—the paramount question in government, little as may be the heed given to it by the public—how can we diminish the volume of crime in the community? * * * That the prison system, as it is administered, is to a great extent a failure is admitted on all hands. We believe that a better system would have a different effect, and it is the hope of a better which makes us desire the radical reconstruction of the system, the evils of which we know and deplore."

Mr. W. M. F. Round, Secretary of the National Prison Association, in discussing convict-labor issues, thus treats of the contract system:

"Under this system the contractor becomes the owner of the time of the prisoners. It is his legitimate aim to make money out of that time. He becomes to the prisoner the most manifest power in the prison. The contractor's rights must be conserved. Then the motive that governs the whole internal machinery of that prison is not the protection of society by the reformation of the criminal, but is the right of the contractor to make the largest possible amount of money by any means within the terms of the contract. The criminal feels not the beneficent majesty of the State, but the mercenary power of the contractor. It always may happen, and often does happen that the discipline of the prison must yield to the demands of the contractor. Indeed, the very warden must yield to the autocracy of the contract, and in the working hours admit that there is a power in the prison stronger than his own. * * * The interest of the contractor is promoted by the non-reformation of criminals. The most persistent criminal who most

frequently returns to the prison, becomes the best trained and consequently most profitable workman. It is not to the contractor's interest that he should cease to be a criminal, but that he should return to the prison as speedily as possible. Hence the motive power that dominates the labor of the prison, opposes itself to the reformation of the prisoner and thus opposes itself to the highest interests of society."

Mr. A. G. Byers, warden of the Ohio penitentiary, with experience in the contract and other systems of prison labor, makes this comment on the former:

"It is at this point where the more objectionable features of the contract system become apparent. It is not merely the intervening of a third party between the officers of the prison and the prisoner, but the further fact that this party by virtue of his contract is invested with certain rights—property rights—in the time of the prisoner, and property interests in his work, whereas the prison officer has ordinarily no interest in the prisoner beyond his safe custody and the enforcement of the labor due the contractor.

"The contractor deals with the State—the State strong and exacting—and it is his business to make the most of his bargain. Thus the prisoner is brought into contact with a mercenary spirit whose demands are enforced by State authority, with the club, scourge, hose, pistol or some other brutal device utterly degrading to manhood, and which merely awakens a revengeful spirit and sets at defiance all hope of reform."

Hon. Z. R. Brockway, superintendent of the Elmira Reformatory, New York, says:

"On the other hand the contract system is objectionable because * * * it often divides the controlling authority of the prison, introducing an influence, political or otherwise, which dominates the prison officers and determines the discipline of the establishment. Its tendency is to drive the prisoner along a single process of routine work, with little regard to preparation for future industrial success when released. In short, the contract system in principle and practice is opposed to the real purpose for which the State maintains its penitentiaries, namely, protection from crimes through the reformation of offenders."

These statements, which might readily be multiplied, sufficiently indicate the grounds upon which very excellent authorities in the science of prison management condemn the contract system.

THE CONTRACT SYSTEM AS AN INJURY TO FREE INDUSTRIES.

But the system is objected to with even greater emphasis—as the invasion of personal and property interests awakens a livelier incentive than mere moral convictions—by another class and for other reasons.

This is that class of manufacturers who suffer loss of business and their numerous dependent employes who suffer loss of work and diminution of wages because of the competition offered by the prison contractors in the markets.

This class takes no cognizance of the moral aspects of the case as urged by the reformer, nor any special interest in the convict himself, but simply demands that the contractor shall not be afforded facilities by the State for defeating the business enterprises of private citizens, and that the convict shall not be pitted against the honest workman in his struggle for existence.

This complaint is as old as the system itself, but has become louder and more general as the prison industries have increased, and especially strenuous under all industrial depressions, until within a few years it has at last become an issue before the people.

It is proposed now to consider some of the arguments for and against the contract system as affecting free industries.

The defenders of the contract system have for years rested their case upon these two assumptions:

1. *That the competition complained of is in reality trifling.*
2. *That it would be equally great under any other system.*

The persistency with which these statements are made, and the readiness with which they are accepted as a final answer to every demand for a change of prison policy, entitles them to some separate consideration.

IS PRISON COMPETITION TRIFLING?

In defense of the proposition that the competition arising from prison manufactures is, in fact, very insignificant, it is customary to summon an array of statistics covering the total number of industries or employes in any given branch of manufacture in the whole country and compare them with the total number of convicts employed in corresponding industries.

By this process the percentage of convicts employed in all industries, and the percentage of competing products of prison manufacture in all markets, is made to appear ridiculously small. The

conclusion reached and published by one authority is: "That the convicts employed in skilled work constitute a little less than 2 per cent. of all engaged at free labor in like industries."

The statistics which afford this deduction are, however, challenged as misleading and delusive, upon the ground that the census reports of 1870, on which this calculation is based, do not afford a legitimate basis of comparison with parallel branches of industry pursued in prisons. The same difficulty is encountered in any attempt to make comparisons with the later and more exact census tables of 1880 as already shown. A few illustrations will indicate how inapplicable the summaries of the census are to this sort of comparison.

In the manufacture of cooperage in Illinois, the census report of 1880 gives the total number of coopers employed as 2,297. This includes all those employed in all cities and towns, working by hand or machinery, and engaged upon all kinds of barrels, of which there are upwards of twenty varieties, and whose work is distributed to all markets. Of this number, however, only 686 are (or were) employed in Chicago, also upon all kinds of work.

Now, at the Joliet penitentiary there are 204 convicts employed by a firm of contractors in the manufacture of cooperage for the Chicago market. These convicts are not employed upon all of twenty or more kinds of barrels, but only upon four kinds, to-wit: pork barrels, lard tierces, lard kegs, and beef tierces, for the meat-packing trade in that city. The 686 coopers in Chicago are at work, not only on all kinds of so-called tight work, including packages for meats, liquors, oils, syrups, etc., but also on slack work, embracing flour, sugar, apple, potato and other barrels.

Now under the method of statistical treatment referred to, the record for Illinois would be that 204 convicts compete with 2,297 coopers—which in this case proves to be about nine, instead of two per cent. of convicts—but the fact is that the 204 convicts compete with 686 coopers in Chicago, assuming that they are all working on pork barrels, etc. In reality the 204 convicts compete with such portion of the 686 Chicago coopers as are at work on provision cooperage, and not with the whole of them. What that proportion is it is impossible to learn from the census tables, but as a matter of fact it is very small, for the well-known reason that the 204 convicts of Joliet, and 169 more in the Northern Penitentiary of Indiana, employed by the same firm of prison contractors, have monopolized the enormous trade in packages for the packing of

meats in Chicago, and driven that class of manufacturers and of coopers out of business.

This fact, however, could not be made to appear by any study of census statistics, nor could any legitimate deduction be made from that source as to the real influence of prison labor in Illinois upon the business of making pork barrels, which, in fact, it has well-nigh destroyed.

Again, the largest industry in the penitentiaries of Illinois is the manufacture of boots and shoes, in which 499 convicts at Joliet, 225 at Chester and 159 boys at Pontiac, 883 in all, are employed. The census report of 1880 gives the total number of men, women and children employed in all kinds of manufacture of all kinds of boots and shoes and repairing in Illinois as 3,443, as to which the number of convicts is as 26 per cent. In the tables referred to, based upon the census returns of 1870, the number in the convict shops of Illinois is given as 447 and the whole number in the State as 4,660, the former being 9+ per cent. of the latter. Without attempting to explain why the industry should appear as nearly one-third greater in 1870 than it was ten years later, we merely cite an important distinction which is made in the analysis of 1880. In that report the boot and shoe industry under the factory system is separated from all other forms of that industry, and we can thus institute a legitimate comparison with prison manufactures because they, too, are conducted on the factory system, and are not engaged in custom work or cobbling. In the boot and shoe *factories* of Illinois there are only 2,060 employes of all kinds, men, women and children; while in the prison shops there are 724 male adults, and 159 boys—883 in all, the number of the latter being 43 *per cent.* of the former. Thus, if it were possible to consider the State as isolated from others, the prison shops would be found to absolutely dominate if they did not destroy all private establishments of this character.

But this State is surrounded by prison shoe factories employing convicts in the following numbers: In Indiana, 302; Ohio, 66; Michigan, 140; Wisconsin, 420; Iowa, 119; Missouri, 503—1,481 in all. The total number of employes in the shoe factories of those States is 6,854, of which the former number is 20+ per cent. Is it possible to conceive that the local industries in this group of States are not injured by this degree and kind of competition?

Moreover the warden of the New York State prison at Auburn, states in a recent report that 90 per cent. of nearly a quarter of a million dollars worth of boots and shoes made in that institution, in

nine months, were sold to local dealers in the Western States, and only 10 per cent. in the State of New York.

Thus our makers and jobbers of boots and shoes have not only our local and neighboring prisons to compete with but also those of remoter States, and it affords no relief to them, that calculations based upon the census reports of 1870 demonstrate that they really have almost no competition at all.

One more reference will sufficiently illustrate the point under consideration.

In the Joliet penitentiary there are 93 convicts employed as marble workers and 110 in the stone department,—or 203 in stone and marble. The census of 1880 gives 1,577 as the whole number of stone and marble workers in the State, the number of convicts being equivalent to 13 per cent. of the free laborers. But this blanket classification covers all manner of working all kinds of stone for every variety of purpose, by machinery or by hand. It is difficult to see how any comparison can be instituted between the prison force and the census class, though they bear the same name and are alike stone and marble workers, that is, cutters of building stone and marble polishers,—in reality two distinct trades.

Yet they may be grouped together in order to conform to the census classification, and the result of the comparison, as made by the defenders of the contract system, is that 203 stone and marble working convicts compete with 1,577 stone and marble workers in Illinois. But in point of fact the marble contractors chiefly manufacture such flat work as mantels, tiling and wainscoting, and their convicts compete not with all the stone and marble workers of the State but with the marble workers alone, and not with all of them, but with such of them as work on mantels, wainscoting, etc., who might not in fact greatly exceed the number of convicts themselves.

If it could be shown by the census or otherwise just how many free workmen in the State or country are engaged in polishing marble slabs, a legitimate basis would be found upon which to predicate the degree of competition offered by the whole number of convicts similarly employed; but it would be manifestly impossible to arrive at any measure of that competition by comparing the convict marble polishers with all the outside stone and marble workers.

This notice of some of the faulty features of the statistics upon which the assertion is made that "the convicts employed in skilled work constitute only 2 per cent. of all engaged at free labor in like industries," is sufficient to indicate the weakness, if not the error,

of the whole calculation. The statement is doubtless true, if "like industries" is intended to cover all industries of a similar nature, without reference to specific branches of manufacture in those industries; for between a great many "like industries" in that sense, there is no competition whatever. All forms of stone work are "like industries," but there can be no competition between the hewers of building stone, and the polishers of marble slabs. What the discussion calls for is the percentage of competition in identical industries, and that is doubtless the purport of the statement. As such it is quoted; and without such interpretation it has no significance. Upon this understanding the basis of the comparison is clearly defective, because of the lack of distinctive classification in the census tables, upon which the calculation is based. Wherever we find, in the census tables of 1880, any classification sufficiently well defined to establish a parallel with prison industries, the percentage of convict competition in any of the leading prison industries is large enough to materially affect, if not to dominate that industry.

But there is really less weight to be attached to this very low percentage of competitive injury to civilians, even if it were established, than is generally conceded.

It would not be claimed, probably, by the defenders of the contractors, that this two per cent. limit of competition can operate uniformly in all localities, or alike upon all industries. Yet this is just what they should show, in order to give any force to the statement. If every 98 workmen have only 2 to contend against in the matter of wages or prices, although these 2 might readily constitute a disturbing element, yet the 98 would be able to protect themselves; or if only two per cent. of the stock in every market be the product of prison labor, though this would constitute a discrimination against the product of free labor, yet the 98 per cent. could still control the market by absorbing the 2 per cent., if not otherwise.

But practically prison-made goods flow in the main arteries of trade in large quantities to central markets, where they do the greatest possible injury to the greatest number, not only by displacing the local industries and their employés, but by establishing prices which govern throughout the country, thus disseminating their influence broadcast in all directions. This is true, of course, only of the specific products of the principal prison industries, and in a large number of "like industries" there may be no competition

whatever. Averaging those branches which escape all competition with those which sustain the whole of it, and the two per cent. of total injurious influence might readily be shown; yet this would afford no indication of the harm the prison industries were doing and afford no relief to the cooper or the marble worker or the shoe operative in Chicago.

Another view of the case is apparently overlooked by those who urge the small percentage of injury from this source, and that is, that *the lowest price makes the market price*. It is not necessary that the holders of a majority of any line of goods should make a low price in order to establish that price; nor can the larger manufacturers maintain a price for a common grade of goods by virtue of the quantity they control. Whenever the prison contractor comes into the market he brings a new element into it. He occupies an anomalous position, unlike that of any of his competitors. He is endowed by the State with special opportunities for turning out products at a lower cost than others can attain, but the conditions under which he obtains his privileges demand that he continue under all circumstances to produce. Thus in the market, he *can* sell cheaper than any one else, he *must* sell, and he *does* sell—for fair prices if he can, for *any* price if he must. On the other hand, the legitimate producer must halt at the first proposition; he either can or cannot sell lower than others; among his kind he stands upon substantially an equal footing and has an equal chance; against the prison contractor he has none. He may claim the superior quality of his goods, but in all times of depression, when he specially needs the market, the lowest bidder makes the sale and virtually establishes the ruling price. This is not only the tendency but the fact, for in the struggle for trade, prices will inevitably approximate the lowest, and whether they attain it or not they are sure to reach a point prohibitory of legitimate wages or profits.

Thus a small percentage of the total product really governs the price of the whole, and it makes no difference to the actual sufferers how small that fraction may be. More than that, it makes no difference how few or humble the sufferers may be. It is a perversion of the functions of a popular form of government to impose any disabilities whatever upon one citizen, or any number of citizens, in their efforts to maintain themselves and their families by legitimate means. A wrong is no less a wrong, in morals or public economy, because it is, or is claimed to be, only a little one.

Thus, conceding an insignificance to the effects of prison labor which is not shown, the evils of the contract system remain; and whether ten of the industrious poor, or a thousand manufacturers are hurt by it, is immaterial so far as the principle is concerned,

But is the influence of the contract system upon the industries of the State trifling in point of fact? Such is doubtless the belief of many persons whose opportunities for knowing are limited, or who have accepted the current statistical formula on the subject as final.

It is unnecessary in this connection to cite the universal sentiment of the labor organizations, or of individual workingmen in any of the trades pursued in prisons. Their voice has filled the land. They conceive that the contractor despoils them of work and wages and thus of daily bread. They have pretty accurate means of knowing, and should be good authority. They have succeeded in so convincing the legislatures of New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Ohio that they have been hurt by the contract system, that those States have abolished it.

In this State whatever has been accomplished towards a removal of the system, has been due to the efforts of labor organizations. So there can be no question as to their belief in the reality of the injuries they suffer from this cause.

The parties next in interest and in facilities for knowing whereof they speak, are the employers of labor in the imperilled industries. Although less aggressive in their hostility to the contract system, because it cannot touch their daily lives so nearly as it does that of the worker for wages, yet they are competent witnesses as to the facts developed in their own experience. Space is therefore given here to the testimony of some of the manufacturers of Illinois, in order that it may be made to appear whether the evils of the system complained of are real or simply the offspring of a disordered imagination.

TESTIMONY OF MANUFACTURERS ON THE CONTRACT SYSTEM.

BOOTS AND SHOES.

The president of one of the oldest and largest boot and shoe establishments in Chicago or the country, having an invested capital of over a quarter of a million dollars, makes the following statement, based upon the observation and experience of his firm for many years, in regard to the influence of convict labor upon their business: "Prison labor in the manufacturé of boots and shoes

have depressed the prices of those goods at least twenty per cent. The wages of our men are much lower than they were before the prison contracts were given, and I ascribe the lower wages entirely to the competition arising from convict labor. The quality of prison-made goods is equal to that of private enterprises. Manufacturers cannot make goods and sell them at the same price with prison-made goods at a profit. There are fewer factories in Chicago to-day making boots and shoes than there were years ago, owing to the establishment of the prison shops. Some who did manufacture here have been obliged to take prison contracts in order to compete with others who had them, and have consequently closed their factories here. Free labor cannot compete with prison labor."

Another firm engaged in the manufacture of women and children's fine shoes, replied to our inquiries that "Prison-made goods undoubtedly have a depressing effect upon prices in our line of goods, but we cannot say how much. Wages of labor have from time to time been reduced to meet the competition from this source. The quality of some grades of shoes made in prison is as good as any, but very fine shoes cannot be made by convicts. The influence of the present system of prison labor in our judgment is to cut down the prices of goods, enrich a few contractors and lower the wages of workingmen."

The representative of a shoe and slipper factory in Chicago says: "There has undoubtedly been a decline in prices, owing to convict labor, which I should estimate as about ten per cent. and a considerable falling off in demand. The same influence has also effected a reduction in wages of at least ten per cent. Owing to the use of machinery the quality of prison goods is nearly if not quite as good as that of private manufacture. The system gives capital greater power and tends to discourage labor."

The following is the testimony of the senior member of another boot and shoe firm of Chicago: "I should estimate the decline in prices occasioned by convict labor as from \$4 to \$7 on a case of boots. If our men worked for one-third of the present wages we should still be hardly on an equal footing with the convict labor contractor. Labor in our line is better paid than the business warrants. Manufacturing boots and shoes in Chicago will not flourish until the prison manufactures are stopped. It is my belief that four or five large convict contractors here have made good progress during the last five or ten years at the expense, more or less, of

those who have no contracts. This has had an effect upon labor, but to just what extent it is difficult to tell."

A firm engaged on the finer grades of shoes says: "We do not know that prison labor has any influence upon our trade. Some shoes of a lower grade are undoubtedly kept at a low selling price on account of cheaper labor than we are able to command. We make a class of work that is not attempted in prison. Our men work by the piece and get the highest wages paid in the West for work that is of a superior grade."

The representative of another company says: "I have had charge of convict labor in three prisons. I consider them as good workmen as free laborers, and their pay is only one-sixth as much. You can judge whether they injure the outside trade. It is *true* that some prison contractors who have good men whose time is about to expire, seek to have them punished on some frivolous charge so as to prolong their term and keep them longer in the shops."

HARNESS AND SADDLERY.

Among harness and collar makers the inquiries of the Bureau developed the following expressions of opinion:

A manufacturer makes this statement: "Our business has been injured by the convict labor contractors, and the demand for our goods has fallen off about twenty per cent. We are now compelled to buy all the cheaper grades of goods, instead of making them ourselves, as formerly. This not only reduces our profits on those goods, but necessitates the reducing of our working force. In my judgment convict labor has caused a reduction in prices, and consequently in wages in the harness trade, and this is one reason why American born youth will not undertake now a-days to learn this trade, or any other trade carried on in prisons. The greater portion of harness-makers are now foreigners, because they only will work for the smaller wages made necessary by prison competition."

An importer and manufacturer of fine harness gives the result of his observation rather than of his personal experience: "I believe that the competition arising from prison contracts has a depressing influence upon prices of the cheaper grades of harness, and must have, because of the cheapness of prison labor. The quality of some of the prison products is equal to that of the products of free labor. I am not aware of any case in which parties have been obliged to abandon business because of convict labor, but I have known contractors who had both prison and outside shops,

to discharge skilled workmen from the latter, whenever convicts acquired the necessary skill to take the work. Prison contractors in this and other ways are able to sell their products much cheaper than the ordinary manufacturer, and if the latter hopes to retain a share of the trade, he must cut his prices and wages accordingly. I believe the purchaser will ordinarily give his preference to goods made outside the penitentiary, but the sentiments of people are easily swayed by a small money consideration in the price of an article which they seek, and thus great hardship is imposed upon honest labor."

COOPERAGE.

An extensive manufacturer of cooperage in Chicago referring to the depressing effect of prison-made goods in that market, says: "Without a doubt we are now suffering a decline of at least twenty-five per cent. in the prices of our goods as a result of prison competition. Consequently we have been compelled to reduce wages to a point lower than has ever before been reached. In our line there is no reason why prison products should not equal the products of private enterprises. I have known a cut of two and a half cents on the price of lard tierces, below the private manufacturer's price, to secure the sale of thousands of prison-made tierces, and throw many industrious men into enforced idleness. Not only is work thus taken from honest men, but in many instances proprietors have been obliged to curtail, modify, and at last abandon their business altogether because of this prison competition. The prison contractors have succeeded within the last ten years in driving all the small manufacturers out of business, and those with larger capital are holding on with little or no profit, in the hope that this political evil will eventually receive some proper adjustment."

Another statement of the situation is as follows:

"Prison manufactures have had a very depressing influence upon our wares, and our estimate is that they have occasioned a decline of at least 40 per cent. in prices. We have been compelled from year to year to reduce the wages of our employes, so that we find an average for the last two years shows only \$6.17 per week as the wages of men working from ten to fourteen hours a day. This decline in prices and wages is directly traceable to the prison contractors. They now control this market, and make over one-half the entire product sold here. Their barrels are not altogether as good as ours, but the difference in price will always sell them. A number

of Chicago coopers have been obliged to change or abandon their business on account of this prison work, and there are probably not more than half the number engaged in the business now that there was seven or eight years ago. The prison contractors are trying to drive all cooperage manufacture to the wall, and they will succeed unless the contract system is overthrown. It has already reduced the business to a point where there is no money in it for either the employers or the employed."

The president of a wealthy cooperage company doing business in all parts of the country, offers this testimony upon the subject:

"The manufacture of lard tierces and pork barrels in prison by machinery in the various States has virtually given the complete control of the markets for provision cooperage into their hands. They manufacture more than half of that which is used in the States of Ohio and Illinois. Whenever there is a stiffening in the demand, then the prison cooperage sells at the same price as that of free manufacture. The manufacture of cooperage inside prison walls should be restricted to exclusively hand work. By this means the convict would be taught a trade; the production would be reduced; and the State would not suffer.

"The greatest evil of the present system is, that at certain seasons of the year, and I believe at all seasons of the year in Chicago, it brings the level of wages that coopers earn working at provision cooperage below that of a common laborer. In our works it has virtually compelled us to abandon the manufacture of provision cooperage. It is not, however, over one per cent. of our entire product. Twelve or fifteen years ago we could safely count on putting a large percentage of our coopers during the dull season on this class of work, and at least get our money back, and often stand a chance of a good round profit; now we are compelled to dismiss them, and let them hunt other employment.

"The use of cooperage machinery in the prison has divided the labor, so that now a convict learns only a trifling part of the trade; and he is no more of a cooper when he is released than he is a tailor. Cooperage stock should, in my opinion, go into the prison just as it leaves the tree, and all labor upon it should be done by hand. No convict should be allowed to work more than six months at any one part of the work. This would insure him a trade, and a chance to earn his living when released."

A Chicago manufacturer of cooperage, with many years experi-

ence in that market, gives this emphatic testimony as to the consequences of the contract system.

"The competition of prison-made goods in our market has caused such a decline in prices that we estimate present rates to be from twenty-five to forty per cent. lower than they would be if the contractors did not force their goods upon the market. The large amount of cooperage manufactured at Joliet has also very much reduced the home demand, and as it is virtually impossible to ship cooperage on account of its bulk and the freight charges upon it, we are practically at the mercy of the prison contractors.

"This impairment of the demand and the price for our goods has made it necessary to reduce the wages of our employes to such an extent that although they are skilled workmen it pays them better to work when they can as laborers on the streets. The quality of prison-made goods is not generally equal to that of private manufacturers, and purchasers know it, but as we *must* sell in *this* market they also know they will get our goods at prison prices if they wait long enough.

"In the last ten years half the cooperage establishments in this city have gone out of business, and the remainder have been compelled to discharge about half their employes. The influence of contract convict labor in our business, owing to the enormous quantities of goods made and forced upon the market at any price attainable, is so demoralizing that in the last ten years it has ruined the prospects of every one concerned in that industry. It has forced employers out of business, long hours, hard work, and starvation wages upon employes, and injured all kinds of manufactures of the raw material throughout the State."

To this is added the statement of a firm engaged in the manufacture of kegs in Chicago. "It is our opinion that the depression here in the cooperage business is due almost wholly to convict labor. A business which should have largely increased in the last decade has been steadily declining. There are fewer shops here now, and fewer men employed than there were ten years ago, whereas in order to keep pace with other industries of this growing city there should be a great many more. The wages which it is possible for journeymen coopers to earn have been steadily reduced until it is almost impossible for him to live, and this as compared with other trades is the poorest paid of all. It is true that for the last few years coopers have been able to earn but little more than a dollar a day. In fact the cooper

outside the prison is compelled to work against the convict cooper and with results which must be obvious to every one.

"The market price of cooperage has declined with the decline of wages. The large amount of product which the penal institutions can turn out gives the contractors a leverage upon the market which is irresistible. More than fifty per cent. of the barrels and tierces which are used in this vicinity come from the State prison. A low price in our sales of cooperage has a depressing effect upon all other classes, and too much cannot be said by those interested in coopers and cooperage against this evil of convict labor, which has almost ruined this business.

"We suggest as a remedy, not necessarily to do away with the manufacture of cooperage at prisons, but to so regulate and reduce the force of convicts employed upon this or any one industry, that the contractor cannot become a power in the market sufficient to control it. Divide up the prisoners in smaller forces and employ them in a greater number of industries."

MARBLE WORKERS.

There is another class of manufacturers who do not find that the influence of convict labor under contractors is inappreciable, although the number engaged in the industry is comparatively small. These are the manufacturers and dealers in marble goods. An inquiry among them has developed the following statements on the subject of convict labor. One of the oldest marble men in Chicago, in response to inquiries of the Bureau, makes this reply:

"Prices in my line of business are lower now than ever before. They are now where there is in reality hardly a living margin in them. I attribute this decline solely to the competition of prison contractors in our market. Of course the competition between free labor employers will at times bring prices very low, but I am confident they would never reach the point at which they now are if our prison competitors were on the same footing as to the price of labor as others. As it is, we are now competing with several prison contractors, both at the East and at the West, who are selling goods in this market below our prices, though ours are so low we are never sure we can clear expenses and the cost of material. Owing to the fact that prison contractors can and always do undersell us, *the great bulk of the trade goes to them*, thus leaving at best only a small portion of the marble used in this market to be made by resident marble workers.

"Even when there is plenty of work being done in our line we have been obliged to run on short time, which is equivalent to paying only partial wages, because the bulk of the business was secured by the prison contractors below our lowest rates. In this way honest men are robbed of work and wages.

"Some five or six years ago competition in my line was not at all as active as now. My only competitors were local business men who, like myself, were employers of free labor. Then there was no occasion for cutting down the wages of my men. They received a fair compensation for a comparatively easy day's work and the employer was able to realize a legitimate profit. Very soon, however, Eastern prison contractors found their way out here and began to bid for the furniture-top trade, which constitutes a leading branch of my business. In order to get the work from the established houses here they had to make prices below myself and others, and they did it with a vengeance, and continue to do it whenever an opportunity arises. The same thing may be said of prison contractors in Illinois. They attack us in the same way exactly, though on a different line of goods. The Illinois contractors interfere with us in building work, such as mantels, tiling and wainscoting. As a consequence the wages of men and the profits of the business are cut on all sides in the interest of convicts and contractors.

"The class of work now turned out of our prisons, while it cannot be said to be as well executed as that from free-labor shops, is yet good enough to meet the demand of the great mass of people. The prison men give us trouble mainly in the manufacture of plain work, or that which is easily done. It is principally what is known as flat work, and they can find a market for their goods nearly or quite as readily as we can, and can turn out any amount of that kind of work with convicts. It is a disgrace and a crime to allow jail-birds to prevent honest men from making a living, but that is really the effect of our present contracting system in our public prisons. I trust the time is not far distant when this discouraging and oppressive system shall be forever abolished."

Another operator in stone and marble work says: "It is utterly impossible for outside dealers to compete with the prison contractors, for the reason that they have established such a low price for marble and granite work. Unless we could find customers who are opposed to prison labor we could not sell one foot of these goods. My estimate of the extent of the injury done this market by prison contractors would be that they have occasioned a decline of from

thirty to fifty per cent. on a fair market price. The demand upon legitimate dealers has fallen off in a corresponding ratio, and these two influences have led of necessity to a disastrous reduction in the wages paid carvers, cutters, polishers, and in fact all classes of workmen. I know of carvers who have been obliged to abandon their trade altogether, and are now working in other lines of business which afford them better pay.

"Prison-made goods are inferior in quality and finish as they come from the convicts, but the contractors employ skilled workmen outside, or within the prison, to complete the work for market. When the contractors encounter any competition they put a price upon their work which no outside manufacturer can touch, and always get the desired contract. Then these prices are quoted to the trade, and the market is completely demoralized.

"There have been six or seven establishments, to my knowledge, obliged to modify or abandon their business solely on account of this competition from the prison contractors. The latter now have entire control of the manufacture of table tops, brackets, shelves, etc., used by furniture men, and also of plumbers' goods. In these two branches they have no competition whatever, because they have destroyed both competition and competitors."

BRICK MAKING.

The president of a leading concern engaged in the manufacture of brick in Chicago, being enquired of concerning the influence of prison brick-making upon his business, stated that in the matter of prices the Bridewell authorities always sold their product at from fifty cents to one dollar below the market price, and the contractors at the Chester penitentiary were addicted to the same practice, but that he believed there was no perceptible effect produced either upon the demand for or the price of brick made in the Chicago yards.

The prison-made brick were inferior in quality and in size, and it was necessary to cut the market price somewhat in order to sell them. He adds: "As a private citizen and public official I have uniformly favored the employment of convict labor, but I seriously doubt the propriety or justice of employing it to manufacture goods on a large scale to undersell the product of honest men's brain and muscle. They should be put to breaking stone, making roads, dig-

ging canals, or, in fact, almost anything where manual labor alone is used. I think the brick business is perhaps affected as little as any manufacturing interest, but it bears its share."

Another firm in Chicago, however, has had a different experience, which they give as follows: "We are suffering from competition with the convict labor employed in the manufacture of pressed brick at the Chester penitentiary. Within a few months four of the largest orders for pressed brick have been placed with the representative of the Chester contractors, which we would undoubtedly have had were it not for the low price of convict-made brick. We could better have afforded to pay a thousand dollars in taxes for the maintenance of that penitentiary than to have lost this business. We feel that the burden of supporting prisons should be more evenly distributed.

"We have not as yet been compelled to reduce the wages of our employés, because the unusual activity in building enterprises during the last season enabled us to dispose of our manufactured stock, but in case of a reaction great disaster is likely to result to the manufacturers of pressed brick in this market, on account of the brick sent here from the Chester penitentiary.

BROOM MAKING.

A manufacturer of brooms and brushes, at Galesburg, employing about 30 men, has made this statement in regard to his experience with prison goods: "In times past my business has been seriously affected by prison labor. Some years ago, when brooms were made extensively at Joliet, this part of the country was flooded with cheap brooms, and in later years my trade has been invaded more or less by brooms made in the prison at Jackson, Michigan. It is also somewhat impaired by the product of the city prison at Peoria. Salesmen of the Peoria prison brooms urge them upon customers at low prices, and then merchants demand our brooms at the same prices, and in order to sustain our establishment at all we have to ask our workmen to accept such wages as will enable us to compete with the prison brooms. I recently lost a large railroad order which was secured by a prison contractor from Michigan, and involved a serious loss to me. At Pittsburgh, brooms are extensively made in prison, and a great many shops in that vicinity have been compelled to shut down, because the prison contractors could undersell them at any price they could make. Prison-made brooms are not as good as those made outside, but low prices govern in all

trades and markets. Manufacturing interests should everywhere combine in denouncing this competition with criminals."

BARBED WIRE.

Two manufacturers of barbed wire, one established at Sterling, and one at Joliet, contribute their testimony as to the influences of prison manufactures upon their respective interests.

The Joliet manufacturer says: "There is now at the Joliet penitentiary a company manufacturing a certain line of my goods, and I must say frankly that their competition is not as bad as that of outsiders. Within the last two years it has been necessary to reduce our scale of wages, but as the most of our work has been done by the piece, and a corresponding increase has been developed in the capacity of our machinery, the earnings of our men have continued about the same. The decline, moreover, was not chargeable to penitentiary labor.

"There is really no difference between the prison-made and other goods in our line, though salesmen will sometimes try to make it appear, and sometimes appeal to the popular prejudice against convict labor.

"I have been at times solicited by prison contractors who had a surplus of convicts, to move into the penitentiary and avail myself of the advantages of their contracts, but have steadily declined, because in my judgment those advantages are more than overbalanced by disadvantages, and the harder the times the greater the disadvantages. The only manufacturer who can successfully maintain himself in the penitentiary is one with practically inexhaustible resources so far as capital is concerned. I well remember when the Joliet penitentiary was run by the State. They made and sold everything. Against such a system I would protest; but with the existing system but little fault can be found. I doubt if any other would bring as good results to the State with as little injury to outside manufacturers."

The following is the experience of the Sterling establishment: "In our line prison-made goods have always had a depressing effect by reason of being sold cheaper. We have for the third time been compelled to shut down with the view of giving lower wages when we start again, because, in a measure, of convict labor.

"We think prison-made goods are not up to the standard in quality as a rule, but when in the hardware trade, we bought small farming implements of prison make which seemed of good quality, because

we could get them at lower prices than others could furnish them for. We regard the influence of prison labor upon free labor as very bad because it has a tendency to lower wages. The fact that only a comparatively small portion of the goods in our line can be made in prisons is the only thing which enables outside manufacturers to keep in the market. If convict contractors could supply the demand, it would be impossible to compete with them."

WAGON MAKERS.

Although the manufacture of wagons is not carried on in any of the penal institutions of Illinois, it is a leading industry in the Michigan, Ohio, Tennessee and other prisons, so that the effects of convict labor upon this branch of manufacture in Illinois is very marked, and no class of business men in the State are better qualified to know and to testify as to the influence of the contract system upon legitimate enterprise than the wagon makers. The following statement is made by a representative of one of the oldest and largest wagon establishments in Chicago, or the country, having over \$650,000 capital invested in that industry:

"As I have for the past 21 years confined my attention to the manufacture of farm wagons, my views are based chiefly upon my experience in that industry, but the same facts and principles apply with equal force to all who have to compete with labor which costs nothing as compared with what it costs manufacturers who must invest in buildings and grounds, pay heavy taxes on the same to maintain the administration of justice, and the punishment of offenders, and then pay sufficient wages to support the free laborer and his family.

"About one-fourth of the wagons in the West and South are made in penitentiaries, and the consequence is that the employer of free labor has to be satisfied with a profit not greater than what his capital would earn as a loan in the money market, and to realize that percentage must cut down his labor account as well as all other expenses to the minimum.

"It is in these times of over-production that the effects of prison labor are felt most. Every manufacturer is endeavoring to keep his hands employed, and is almost willing to forego his own profits to maintain that end. The penitentiary contractor *must* keep his hands employed, and therefore places his goods in the market at a price which the legitimate manufacturer cannot even approach. The result is simply starvation wages to the workmen and no profit to the

employer. During the past year many manufacturers have been compelled to close their works for months at a time, because they were unwilling to propose to their employes a reduction of wages which would not leave the latter enough to support their families. One of the heaviest concerns in our line did however explain the state of things to their people, and the latter decided to continue to work at the reduction rather than lie idle. Thereupon the manufacturer entered into contracts competing with prison work, and had hardly done so when his men struck for an advance of 25 per cent., claiming (which was quite true) that they could not sustain their families. The result was the manufacturer acceded to their demands, and pocketed the loss.

"In the meantime prison contractors have been busy right along at a profit, and none of the manufacturers employing free labor have even reached their capacity of production while running, to say nothing of the months of idleness which have been imposed upon them during the last three years.

"In view of the foregoing I am convinced that the prison contract system has depressed the demand and the prices of legitimately made goods, and that it has thus compelled employers not only to reduce the wages of their help to a minimum, but to reduce the number employed at least one-third, thus engendering strikes and labor troubles which the manufacturer cannot remedy while this pernicious system of convict labor exists. To sum up: I would state that I am fully persuaded *that convict competition with wood and metal workers in our line deprives the free man of from 20 to 25 per cent. of his rightful wages, and keeps a corresponding proportion of their number in enforced idleness and want.*"

An extensive manufacturer in the western part of the State has this to say: "The employment of convict labor in the manufacture of wagons, and the consequent competition arising therefrom, have caused a depreciation in the same class of goods made by free labor of at least 10 per cent. The evil effects of the system are more noticeable in times of over-production and stagnation in trade, when the surplus product establishes the market price.

"Contractors of convict labor cannot regulate their production on the principle of supply and demand, hence employers of free labor, in their anxiety to keep their shops running, are frequently compelled to cut down the wages of their operatives in order to compete to some extent at least with prison products.

"Several large strikes have been the direct outgrowth of this system; which has been the cause of a reduction of wages in this industry equivalent to 10 or 15 per cent. among skilled mechanics.

"The quality of prison-made goods, in the line referred to, is as a rule inferior to that made outside, and does not generally command an equal price, but cheap goods, especially in hard times, and in localities newly settled, demoralize the prices of the better grades, and monopolize the market of the legitimate trade.

"The business of the employer of convicts has not been particularly remunerative in late years, and a number of them would gladly abandon it if they could dispose of their contracts, stocks, etc., but with this labor on their hands they overstock the market, depress the wages of free labor and compel outside manufacturers to curtail production, and in some instances to shut down altogether."

In answer to our inquiries concerning the influence of prison manufactures, a Chicago wagon company, of forty years standing, states that, "The competition of prison contractors has occasioned a decline in the prices of our products, which we estimate at 20 per cent. It has also weakened the demand for legitimate goods, and these causes have combined to enforce a reduction in wages of at least 20 per cent. Some dealers in our line of goods will pay as much for penitentiary work as for that of free labor, though this depends upon what success they meet with in selling the goods, and what degree of satisfaction they give.

"We attribute the present low prices at which our work is selling, to manufacturers who make their goods with convict labor. They sell from 10 to 30 per cent. below our prices, and as competition is very strong, many dealers will buy and handle whatever can be sold for the least money. All manufacturers are accordingly compelled to lower their prices so as to approximate as nearly as possible the prison prices, and enable their customers to sell their goods. To some purchasers, prison-made goods cannot be sold, and it is to this class that our products are mostly sold. Just at present we are being cut out of considerable trade in this State by a wagon which is being manufactured in a Southern penitentiary, and is being sold at just about what our wagons cost."

The president of a wagon company, in the interior of the State, makes the following reply to our request for information upon this subject: "The competition in our line from prison-made wagons has been very depressing. Wagons made at Nashville, Jackson and

Lansing, Kansas, are sold at prices which are ruinous to the private manufacturer. The fact that with the improved machinery of the present day manufacturers are enabled to use so much unskilled labor, gives the prison contractor a great advantage.

"We have lost trade not only in the States most accessible to the foregoing prison factories, but also in markets that are more accessible to us than them, and in order to keep up the volume of our trade have been obliged to cover a great deal more territory than formerly.

We have not reduced the general wages of our men very materially, but have accepted a very great reduction of our profits in preference. The quality of prison-made goods we do not consider equal to that of private manufactories in finish and general excellence, but it is still so good as to affect their sale but little in the matter of price. At the same price the wagons of private makers are generally preferred.

"Legitimate competition in our line is very sharp, but we could meet that and still have a fair share of return for the use of our capital. As it is the prison manufacturers set the prices, and set them so low that, in order to maintain our place in the market at all, we are compelled to forego even a fair interest upon money invested.

"As far as we are concerned, were it not for the investment in our plant, we would close business at once."

A firm of wagon makers in the southern part of the State express themselves as follows: "Convict labor under the present system does great injury to this country and should have been abolished long ago, or rather the system should never have been established. Wagon makers, among other manufacturers, have had a bitter experience with this prison competition, which steals the labor from the mechanic, honest profit from the manufacturer, makes families destitute, places inferior articles upon the market, and benefits no one except a favored few. Every workman, manufacturer and business man ought to be against it and fight it. Nowadays there is scarcely a manufacturer of farm wagons who is making a dollar on his investment, while his property is daily depreciating in value.

"Let the State of Illinois, and every other State, support its own convicts, without impoverishing its private manufacturers."

HOLLOW-WARE.

The manufacture of hollow-ware, or stove furniture, has been virtually monopolized in this country by the prison contractors of some of the Eastern States for a number of years. It has recently been introduced in the Southern Penitentiary of Illinois, by parties who have contracted for 125 men to work in this industry.

In Quincy there are seven establishments engaged in the manufacture of stoves and hollow-ware, from some of whom, as well as from some in other parts of the State, expressions of opinion and statements of their experience have been sought.

One says, "Since this class of goods has been made by convicts, our patterns in this line are lying idle, and we have been compelled to buy the prison-made goods. Were it not for the prison manufacturers, the foundries of Quincy would probably turn out from \$50,000 to \$60,000 worth of hollow-ware a year."

Another writes: "We wish to answer your inquiries only so far as we are personally affected. In this city, with seven stove foundries, which formerly manufactured all their own hollow-ware, there is now none made, owing entirely to the fact that we could not make it and compete with the contractors of prison labor. We are opposed to permitting the labor of convicts to come into competition with the labor of honest men."

Another says: "The product of the hollow-ware foundries in the prisons of New York and Ohio has caused us, and almost all other manufacturers of stoves and hollow-ware, to discontinue making the latter, although it formerly constituted 20 per cent. of our business. The quality of the prison product is perhaps not so good as that of free labor, but it establishes the price just the same. In order to make hollow-ware at prices at which it is sold, we should have to have a reduction of 40 per cent. in the cost of molding."

From another part of the State we have the following: "We meet prison-made goods of two classes, to-wit: stoves, and stove furniture or hollow-ware. In the stove market we believe there has been no visible change—the amount made being comparatively small. In the manufacture of hollow-ware, the prison goods almost monopolize the market. The low prices which they have established have driven other makers, except those enjoying the most favorable conditions, out of the field. In the manufacture of specialties, such as hollow-ware, where there is a large output from one pattern, and the mechanical skill employed is not of a high

order, the product will compare quite favorably with other goods. We were obliged, as were many others, to discontinue the making of hollow-ware, but having abandoned it, prison labor has no further influence upon our business."

PROVISION COOPERAGE IN CHICAGO.

As supplementing these statements of actual experience under the operation of the contract system, we take occasion to present some special statistics in regard to the influence of prison-made provision cooperage upon the market in Chicago.

One of the oldest, largest, and most prosperous shops in the Joliet penitentiary is devoted to the manufacture of cooperage, chiefly for the packing of meats and lard, and chiefly for the Chicago market. The firm engaged in this business has had contracts for convicts at Joliet for many years, and now employs there in all 204 men. In addition to this establishment the same firm has contracts and cooper shops in the Northern penitentiary of Indiana at Michigan City, where they employ 169 men. The product of these two shops flows for the most part to the Chicago market, though some portion of it reaches the neighboring cities—Milwaukee, Indianapolis, St. Louis, and even Kansas City.

Through the courtesy of this firm this Bureau is placed in possession of a statement of the amount of their business in Chicago for a term of eleven years—1875–1885, both inclusive. This shows the number of each of four kinds of packages manufactured and sold in Chicago for each year, as follows:

YEARS.	NUMBER OF PACKAGES MANUFACTURED AND SOLD.				
	Pork Barrels.	Lard Tierces.	Lard Kegs.	Beef Tierces.	Total.
1875.....	107,330	90,227	8,753	1,167	207,466
1876.....	116,236	89,552	6,956	1,393	214,137
1877.....	119,213	86,881	5,976	1,249	213,319
1878.....	127,046	107,416	9,246	1,592	245,300
1879.....	213,595	188,320	7,120	1,909	410,944
1880.....	297,367	257,567	12,560	2,706	570,200
1881.....	301,094	259,648	6,144	8,914	575,770
1882.....	304,138	294,088	3,310	10,219	611,755
1883.....	316,751	312,099	5,387	16,311	650,548
1884.....	363,255	295,655	3,917	19,160	679,987
1885.....	379,312	342,159	2,311	21,479	745,261
Totals.....	2,645,267	2,321,612	71,679	86,129	5,124,687

This shows a total of 5,124,687 packages sold in Chicago in eleven years and 745,261 sold last year.

In order to arrive at some facts upon which to institute a comparison, an inquiry has also been made as to the status, past and present, of the manufacture of cooperage by private parties in Chicago. A canvass has accordingly been made among the principal shops, and so far as possible, exact figures for a corresponding number of years have been procured from the books of the various firms visited. The records of twenty-six establishments variously engaged in the manufacture of both so-called "tight" and "slack" work, were thus obtained. Of these, however, fifteen only are and have been for a series of years engaged in the manufacture of provision cooperage of the specific kinds turned out by the prison shops, and upon their statements the following summaries are made.

First, a abulation of their annual output for a series of years gives the following results:

YEARS.	NUMBER OF PACKAGES MANUFACTURED BY 15 ESTABLISHMENTS IN CHICAGO IN 11 YEARS.				
	Pork Barrels.	Lard Tierces.	Lard Kegs.	Beef Tierces.	Total.
1875.....	31,009	86,045	2,600	819	120,464
1876.....	35,870	86,891	2,600	1,700	128,061
1877.....	39,206	95,600	2,600	6,324	143,724
1878.....	32,530	98,900	800	5,591	137,821
1879.....	49,010	153,130	700	5,400	184,240
1880.....	42,741	121,780	700	4,900	170,121
1881.....	36,160	121,253	700	4,600	162,713
1882.....	32,610	131,005	600	4,000	170,255
1883.....	35,900	122,400	600	.....	158,900
1884.....	26,750	120,735	400	.....	147,885
1885.....	34,600	122,562	400	.....	157,562
Total.....	397,411	1,242,301	12,700	33,334	1,685,746

Here are 1,685,746 packages given as the aggregate product of fifteen cooper shops in Chicago for a period of eleven years; and 157,562 as the total product for 1885.

The census returns for 1880 show that the total number of cooper shops in Chicago at that date was 65, and that the number of coopers employed in them was 686. In the spring of 1885, however, an enumeration was made by the Coopers' Assembly of Chicago, which developed the fact that 16 establishments had closed out their business since 1880, and that they had given employment to 235 men. This would leave as the present force 451 men engaged in 49 shops, provided the discharged men did not obtain work in the surviving shops. A more recent canvass by this Bureau, however, has developed a total of 56 shops of every kind, employing from two men upwards, and an average of twelve employés to

each, which would give 672 as the total of working coopers in the busy season, which is from November to April.

Accepting then 56 shops and 672 men as a fair approximation to the present totals in this industry, the question is what proportion of them are engaged in making the four specific packages used in the meat-packing trade. Of the 26 returns received, 15, or 60 per cent., are so engaged; while an estimate made by our canvasser is that not more than 40 per cent. are so engaged. Assuming that 60 per cent. is the proper proportion, we arrive at the conclusion that 34 shops employing 403 men are the surviving competitors in Chicago of the prison shops. Of these we have the records of 15, employing 182 men and producing last year 157,562 provision packages. This would make the entire product of 34 private cooperage establishments in Chicago, employing 403 men on provision work, 354,517 packages. Upon this basis the following comparative table is presented of the relative product of prison and private shops, showing the columns in juxtaposition in order to bring out the contrast between them:

YEARS.	NUMBER OF PACKAGES.		
	Made in Prison Shops.	Made in 15 Private Shops	Estimated total product of all private shops in Chicago.
1875	207,466	120,464	271,044
1876	214,137	128,061	288,137
1877	213,319	143,724	323,379
1878	245,300	137,821	310,097
1879	410,944	188,240	423,540
1880	570,200	170,121	382,773
1881	575,770	162,713	360,054
1882	611,755	170,215	383,074
1883	630,548	158,900	377,525
1884	679,987	147,845	342,792
1885	745,261	157,562	354,515
	5,124,687	1,685,746	3,792,930

Last year's product of the prison shops was 745,261 packages, while that of all private shops, upon a liberal and legitimate basis of computation was 354,515. In other words, out of a total sale and consumption of 1,099,776 packages in Chicago, 67.8 per cent. was manufactured in prisons.

Another marked feature of this table is the great and continued growth of the prison industry throughout the period under consideration. This is not more noticeable, however, than the entire absence of any material increase for the same series of years in the devel-

opment of the industry outside the prison walls. In brief the contractors' business has increased in volume 860 per cent. during the eleven years, while the increase in private establishments was only 31 per cent. in the same time. The prison output shows a regular progressive growth from year to year for the whole period; but the private shops feebly fluctuate in volume of product throughout the term, and at the end are practically no stronger than at the beginning.

The manufacture of cooperage, stimulated as it has been by the enormous meat-packing trade in Chicago, should have itself increased four or five fold during the last decade, and would have done so beyond a doubt if such opportunities for free development had been open as were enjoyed by other branches of manufacture. Instead of that it is now a feebler industry relatively than it was eleven years ago, and instead of enjoying the healthy and prosperous growth for which a notable opportunity was presented, it has barely maintained its existence by a constant and unequal struggle.

But the proprietor has not been the only nor the greater sufferer in this struggle. Under the natural and inevitable operation of the contract system prices have continually declined, and the citizen, in his fruitless effort to compete with the contractor, has visited every reduction in price upon the journeyman cooper in the form of a reduction in wages. The consequence has been, as is frequently stated, that Chicago coopers have often been able to earn more upon the streets at any kind of unskilled labor than at the trade they have spent years to acquire.

Some facts in regard to the average annual earnings of coopers for the term of years under consideration have been procured from the books of employers who have been continually in business for eleven or more years. From nine of these we have been able to obtain an average of the yearly payments made to their operatives for each of eleven years, and the results of the inquiry as to wages are presented in the following tabulation of averages:

YEARS.	AVERAGE ANNUAL EARNINGS OF PROVISION COOPERS IN CHICAGO FOR 11 CONSECUTIVE YEARS, IN 9 ESTABLISHMENTS.								
	1	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
1875.....	\$624 00	\$700 00	\$613 00	\$640 00	\$625 00	\$690 00	\$650 00	\$624 00	\$511 00
1876.....	624 00	700 00	624 00	625 00	600 00	689 00	624 00	591 00	511 00
1877.....	593 00	675 00	607 00	600 00	600 00	600 00	598 00	540 00	500 00
1878.....	572 00	675 00	604 00	590 00	540 00	670 00	598 00	500 00	450 00
1879.....	572 00	675 00	579 00	590 00	500 00	680 00	603 00	452 00	450 00
1880.....	525 00	640 00	572 00	575 00	500 00	600 00	572 00	475 00	450 00
1881.....	519 00	400 00	512 00	575 00	500 00	560 00	572 00	475 00	441 00
1882.....	513 00	400 00	564 00	575 00	450 00	550 00	572 00	462 00	411 00
1883.....	513 00	460 00	546 00	575 00	450 00	400 00	516 00	450 00	410 00
1884.....	488 00	400 00	473 00	540 00	450 00	400 00	481 00	400 00	400 00
1885.....	469 00	400 00	468 00	500 00	395 00	400 00	467 00	400 00	390 00
Decline.....	25%	43%	27%	22%	37%	42%	28%	37%	24%

These nine establishments are selected from the whole number reporting wages because the data in these instances are full for the eleven years in each case, making a complete serial table for the term. The returns from other shops are more or less fragmentary, although the downward tendency is equally marked in every case.

The decline is seen to be painfully uniform from year to year in every establishment, the percentage of reduction varying in different shops from 22 to 43 per cent. Another arrangement of the figures will give the annual average for the same shops, by years, and the general average for the term:

ESTABLISHMENTS.	ANNUAL AVERAGE OF EARNINGS IN NINE ESTABLISHMENTS FOR EACH OF ELEVEN YEARS.										
	1875.	1876.	1877.	1878.	1879.	1880.	1881.	1882.	1883.	1884.	1885.
1.....	\$624	\$624	\$593	\$572	\$572	\$525	\$519	\$515	\$513	\$488	\$469
2.....	700	700	675	675	675	640	490	490	460	400	400
3.....	643	624	607	604	579	572	572	564	546	473	468
4.....	610	625	600	590	590	575	575	575	575	540	500
5.....	625	600	600	540	500	500	500	450	450	420	396
6.....	690	689	680	670	680	600	560	550	400	400	400
7.....	650	624	598	598	603	572	572	572	546	481	467
8.....	634	591	540	500	482	475	475	462	450	400	400
9.....	511	501	500	450	450	450	441	411	410	400	390
Average.....	\$613	\$611	\$599	\$577	\$570	\$545	\$523	\$510	\$481	\$445	\$432

This shows that a general reduction has taken place in the earnings of coopers in the provision cooperage shops of Chicago from \$613 per annum in 1875 to \$432 per annum in 1885, or an average decline of 30 per cent. Some part of this may certainly be due to other causes than the competition arising from the prison shops, but the uniform belief among those interested is that the greater part of it is directly chargeable to that influence. As confirmatory

of their statements we cite from the pay rolls of three shops in which beer barrels alone are made the average earnings paid that class of coopers for a number of years past:

YEARS.	AVERAGE ANNUAL EARNINGS OF BEER-BARREL COOPERS IN 3 SHOPS FOR A SERIES OF YEARS.		
	1.	2.	3.
1876.....	\$682		
1877.....	675		
1878.....	670		
1879.....	662	\$660	
1880.....	647	651	
1881.....	650	645	
1882.....	650	640	\$675
1883.....	620	640	650
1884.....	624	626	625
1885.....	622	626	623
Percentage of decline	8.9	5.2	7.7

Here the decline is not greater than might be expected from general causes, ranging from 5 to 9 per cent.

Presented in averages by years the earnings of this class of coopers, not affected by convict labor, appears as follows:

ESTABLISHMENTS.	EARNINGS OF BEER-BARREL MAKERS IN CHICAGO FOR A SERIES OF YEARS.									
	1876.	1877.	1878.	1879.	1880.	1881.	1882.	1883.	1884.	1885.
1.....	\$682	\$675	\$670	\$662	\$647	\$650	\$650	\$620	\$624	\$622
2.....				660	651	645	640	640	626	626
3.....							675	650	625	623
Average	\$682	\$675	\$670	\$661	\$649	\$647	\$635	\$636	\$625	\$623

Thus at the present date the earnings of coopers not injured by prison competition is found to be \$623 per annum, while the earnings of those who are is only \$432, though ten years ago they were substantially the same. But another line of inquiry has brought out some facts as to the earnings of provision coopers in other cities where the influence of the prison manufacturers is not felt, or only felt in small degree. Among the latter places are Milwaukee, Indianapolis, St. Louis and Kansas City, and of the former Louisville, Denver and Eastern cities are examples. From each has been obtained the ruling price paid for making pork barrels, and an average week's work is considered 30 barrels; thus the table presents the prices paid and the possible earnings at different points:

LOCALITY.	Price per piece paid for making pork barrels or lard tierces.	Average weekly earnings of coopers.
Chicago	25 cents.	\$7 50
Milwaukee	30 "	9 00
St. Louis	30 "	9 00
Kansas City	30 "	9 00
Indianapolis	33½ "	10 00
Louisville	35 "	10 50
Denver	35 "	10 50
Buffalo	40 "	12 00
Rochester	40 "	12 00
Baltimore	40 "	12 00

No comment can add to the suggestiveness of these figures, and it only remains to refer to the movement in prices in the Chicago market since the establishment of the penitentiary shops, to complete the outline of the case against convict labor in cooperage.

The following tables of prices, for barrels of the specified kinds, for a series of years, is compiled from data furnished by manufacturers who have been in the market for the period named:

YEARS.	MARKET PRICES FOR ELEVEN YEARS FOR—			
	Pork Barrels.	Lard Tierces.	Lard Kegs.	Beef Tierces.
1875	\$1 80	\$1 55	\$1 10	\$3 00
1876	1 54	1 50	97	1 88
1877	1 31	1 40	85	1 80
1878	1 30	1 38	80	1 73
1879	1 26	1 34	75	1 65
1880	25	1 30	72	1 52
1881	1 25	1 30	72	1 53
1882	1 21	1 26	67	1 48
1883	1 19	1 25	65	1 45
1884	1 18	1 24	65	1 45
1885	1 15	1 20	60	1 40
Percentage of decline	36%	23%	46%	30%

The noticeable feature in this table of prices is the correspondence between the decline in prices and the reduction in wages. This shows a varying percentage of decline in the different kinds of packages equivalent to an average falling off of 33.7 per cent., while the computed reduction of wages for the same period was 30 per cent. Meanwhile the demand for this class of goods has increased, as shown by a former table, from a total consumption in 1875 of 478,510 packages to 1,099,776 packages in 1885.

It is unnecessary to enlarge upon the significance of these facts and figures in regard to cooperage.

The simple fact that 67.8 per cent. of the provision cooperage used in Chicago is manufactured in prisons, by contractors who pay no rent, no insurance on buildings and no taxes on realty, and hire men at from 45 to 62½ cents a day, renders every other fact here shown as to the decline of the business in Chicago, the falling off in the market price, the reduction of wages, and the consequent reduction of skilled coopers to the rank of day laborers, inevitable, without other demonstration.

The foregoing array of testimony as to the actual results of the contract system upon private enterprise in this State, taken in connection with the uniformly concurrent testimony of its effect upon honest industry, as voiced in the organized efforts of workingmen to suppress it, should sufficiently dispose of the first of the two assumptions of the defenders of the system—that the competition offered by prison-made goods under the contract system is practically inappreciable, and without injurious effect either upon outside capital or labor.

The next consideration is the claim, that such competition must be equally great under any other system of labor in prisons.

MUST COMPETITION BE AS GREAT UNDER ANY SYSTEM OF PRISON LABOR?

To this the manifest reply is, that under either the public account system, or the piece-price plan, the competition certainly *may be made* as great and offensive as it is under the present system. This much is conceded; and it is also recognized that, in the abstract, every convict who does a day's work of any kind which a free laborer might do, competes with that free labor to that extent; in other words, that any sort of productive labor in prisons, or any process by which the aggregate of all products is in the smallest degree increased, in or out of prison, must in the nature of things compete with all other producing agencies in that degree. This, of course, involves the logical sequence that to remove competition absolutely, in every degree, labor of every kind in prisons must be absolutely prohibited, and the convicts be maintained in idleness.

But the opponents of the contract system do not, in fact, advocate idleness in prisons, though this interpretation of their demands is most frequently given, because apparently it is most easily answered.

The labor organizations do not ask that convicts be kept in idleness.

It would be difficult perhaps to formulate just what their wishes are in exact phrase, so as to cover the subject wholly in all its aspects, but it may be safely predicated that:

They do ask that penal institutions be so conducted as to reduce competition with free industries to a minimum.

There is a wide field, full of resources, for those who wish to find them, between the two extremes presented; by the contract system on the one hand with its maximum of injurious influence upon civil industry, and any supposititious system of separate and solitary confinement in idleness. The one is by no means the sole alternative of the other; nor does the establishment of the one at all imply the adoption of the other. At some point between these extremes must be found the ideal system both of the prison scientist, and of the political economist. The demand of the hour is simply that an honest search be made for it.

With this understanding of the real nature of the issue involved, it is not difficult to arrive at the degree of importance to be attached to the assertion that a change of system would not afford any relief from the competition complained of.

The two systems of utilizing the labor of convicts, other than the contract, which are now occupying public attention, and are now upon trial in several States where the contract system has been abolished by statute, are the public account system and the piece-price plan, the distinctive characteristics of which are pretty generally understood.

They both contemplate the removal from the prison of all influence or authority save that of the prison officials, and in this respect are understood to obviate the objections of penologists to the contract system. But, strictly speaking, neither system in itself affords any guaranty of relief from competition with outside industries. Under the public account system, the State may conduct a manufactory essentially, in all its consequences, like that of the contractor. It may be even more disastrous, for the prison management will labor under many disadvantages, not experienced by the contractor, in the sale of goods, and thus a cheaper product than ever may be found upon the market.

A similar difficulty may arise also under the piece-price plan. The prison officer may contract to manufacture such a quantity of a given article as to require the labor of his whole force in a single industry, thus creating a greater disturbance in the markets than two or three contractors might with the same number of men in diversified industries.

These illustrations indicate how even the desired change in system *may* fail to afford the relief sought; and this is what is meant by the declaration that the public account and piece-price plan are equally harmful to labor with the contract system. They certainly may be made so; but these are merely some of the possible perversions of those systems, and by no means essential features of them.

It is equally possible under either system to avoid the evils, which are practically unavoidable under the system of contracting. In brief, the results under either of the recommended plans of employing prison labor, rest almost wholly with the prison management. They can easily make either one as odious and oppressive as the contract system, if predisposed to do so, provided they are not restrained by law. On the other hand, by a willing and zealous administration of either of the other systems, the prison industries may be so directed and diversified as to substantially avoid any harmful results to the civil industries.

The momentous difference is that under the contract system the State surrenders control of the convict at just the point where, in the interests of the free industries, that control should be retained and exercised. In the other systems the State surrenders nothing; it retains absolute jurisdiction both of the labor and discipline of the convict, and may at will direct that labor into any channels the public good may demand.

The contract establishes a fixed relation for a term of years which no consideration of public policy may interrupt; under State control the prisons may at any time, and at all times, be made to subserve the welfare of the community,

The tendency of the contract system is to congregate large numbers of prisoners in the prosperous shops and to monopolize given industries; the tendency of any wise form of State management is to multiply the occupations and develop the individual capacities of prisoners.

The contract system is inflexible and of necessity antagonizes outside industrial interests; the other systems are adjustable to whatever ends are sought, and work no harm to any class unless restricted or perverted in their operation.

It does not appear, therefore, as claimed, that a change of system would afford no relief from injurious competition.

It does appear that any system of State control affords opportunities for such relief, and that the contract system affords none; that while under the one abuses may be possible, under the other

they are inevitable; that while the best results may be fairly predicated upon the introduction of the former, they are impossible under the latter.

We have thus considered the two standing objections to a change of prison system, to-wit: that the injuries to trade are merely nominal, and that they would be equally great under any other system.

Neither position seems to be well taken. We find the evils to be actual, widely extended and unequal; and that the only relief afforded is *through* some other system.

WHAT SHALL THE SYSTEM BE?

It should be enough perhaps for the objectors to any feature of public policy to set forth its weakness or injustice, or the evidences of its failure to accomplish the purpose designed, leaving the prescription and administering of remedies to legislative and executive wisdom. Even a failure on the part of the complainants to suggest *any* remedy could not impair the necessity for one, nor remove the obligation resting upon the administrators of public affairs to find one.

A cure in this case, however, is rather to be selected than sought. There are numerous theories, and examples of prison management, which obviate the objections to the contract system, and offer solutions more or less effectual of the problems involved. It is not too much to believe that among these may be found a system which shall combine a truly reformatory prison discipline, with a minimum of injury to private interests.

Upon the threshold, however, of this consideration of available substitutes for the contract system, it must, of course, be understood what relative importance is to be given to the financial results of administration; whether the paying of expenses is to constitute a *primary* consideration, or merely an incidental and auxiliary feature of prison management.

It may be conceded at once that if the foremost object be to exact from the convict whatever his detention may cost the State, and other considerations are to be made subordinate to that, no system could be more effectual than the contract, unless it be the old lease system, which surrenders the convict at once to any one who will take him and keep him.

But if, on the other hand, the broader view is taken that the best system is that which shall first most effectually protect society

both in its moral and material interests, regardless of any pecuniary profits which may accrue from it, then it is believed the contract system can no longer stand, and the only consideration is, which of several other plans is best.

Any final decision as to this must, of course, be governed largely by existing conditions in any given institution, and by official judgment as to what may be possible or practicable; but it is competent in this connection, to consider what the various theories and examples of prison management offer as a relief, more especially from the harmful effects of the contract system upon private enterprise and industry.

THE PUBLIC ACCOUNT SYSTEM AS A REMEDY.

Some of the characteristics of the public account system have already been adverted to, but may be briefly re-stated. This system contemplates the employment of convicts by the warden, and for the State, without the intervention of any other persons or interests. To express more fully the possibilities of the system under its best form of development, it contemplates, first, such employment as will promote in the highest degree that discipline, correction and reformation which will best fit the criminal for restoration to society, and secondly and incidentally, enable him most effectually to contribute to the cost of his incarceration. For the maintenance of such industries the State furnishes the necessary equipment, and must, of course, buy its material and sell its product in open market. It is manifest that the degree of success which may be attained under this system, both in reformation and in avoiding harmful consequences to outside interests, depends wholly upon the relative importance which is given to the two specified objects.

If the administration is directed chiefly to the development of the individual tendencies and capacities of the convicts, the varieties of occupation given them will necessarily be great, involving perhaps corresponding expenditures for equipment and superintendence, and presumably smaller revenues to the State. But this diversifying of occupations will, at the same time, not only constitute a potent reformatory measure, but will also of necessity greatly reduce, if it does not wholly remove all injurious competition. Thus may the best fruits of the system be realized, and the justification of the system itself be established, though possibly the revenues may be somewhat impaired. On the other hand, if it be the disposition of

the management to maintain few but extensive shops, and make general use of improved machinery and appliances, the establishment would no doubt be more successful as a manufactory, and might possibly pay dividends upon the capital invested in it; but aside from the advantage which would flow from the absence of the contractor, it is difficult to see wherein the public account system, as thus administered, would be any improvement over the contract system. So far as competition is concerned, the State as a manufacturer and seller, on a large scale, of machine-made products, would not only perpetuate the evils of the contract system, but possibly aggravate them, for the necessity to sell would be just as imperative, while the incentive to realize a good price would be less than that of a contractor with his private capital at stake.

Thus the success of this system may be said to rest wholly upon the manner of administering it. It may be so readily abused, by an officer willing to defeat the object for which it is established, that, unless the details of its execution be defined within careful limitations, it may prove a remedy worse than the disease.

THE PIECE-PRICE PLAN AS A REMEDY.

This system of labor, like the public account, provides for the banishment of the contractor and permits unlimited scope to the reformatory efforts of the administration. Under it either the State or the individual may own the plant necessary to the manufacture of a given product. The proposition of the State is then to transform anybody's raw material into a specified product for a given price per piece. The patent advantage of this plan is that the State does not appear in the market either as a buyer of material or seller of goods; but as a seller of labor, to those who have the material and want the goods manufactured. From the standpoint of the free laborer this may be considered a distinction without a difference, yet the difference is material in that there is no increase in the number of competitors in the field, and the State is not dumping goods upon the market, under compulsion, to sell.

Like the public account system this may be developed into a competing agency of serious consequences, if any bidders are permitted to monopolize the prison labor, as they may in a degree if the plant and equipment for a given industry be owned by the bidder. In such case no one can compete successfully with the parties who are already organized and established within the walls. In this respect their position is analogous to that of the contractor who

possesses every advantage over any rivals who may attempt to infringe upon his privileges.

On the other hand, if the State owns the necessary apparatus for carrying on any process of manufacture, and the bidder is not required to invest his capital in machinery, before he can avail himself of the opportunity to bid for prison work, then all outside parties are upon an equal footing; bids will approximate the maximum value of the work; the State will be protected from the rapacity of the single bidder; prison goods will cost all they are worth, and competition will be correspondingly reduced.

This plan also readily admits of a diversity of industries, and thus offers many of the advantages of the public account system, with the additional advantage that the State is relieved of its function as a buyer and seller in the market, and trade is correspondingly relieved of its influence as such.

Both systems are perhaps equally exposed to the vicissitudes common to business enterprises. In times of depression the State as its own business manager may be embarrassed with a surplus of products or diminution of receipts; to meet which emergency a reduction of the hours of labor may be necessary or a temporary suspension; but when the State is making goods by the piece, business depression may also cause a falling off of orders, or those having standing orders for a term of years may fail, thus equally reducing prison activities.

Yet there would then be this advantage in the piece-price arrangement, to the free laborer, that manufacturing under it would be more sensitive than under the public account system, for the reason that a greater variety of interests would be affected; and in any emergency which involved a loss upon the manufactured articles parties would fail to supply the raw material, and thus compel a partial or total suspension at just such crises as render the opportunity to work most precious to those who must live by it, outside of prisons.

SUGGESTED REMEDIES.

Great diversity of opinion is held and expressed by those who desire the abolishment of the contract system, as to what disposition shall be made of the industrial forces concentrated in prisons; though a considerable element of that class disclaim any responsibility in that matter, simply demanding that the constituted authori-

ties shall devise a better system than the contract, and put it in operation.

The investigations of this Bureau have developed in some degree the prevailing opinions among labor organizations and manufacturers as to how the labor of convicts should be utilized, and, although this cannot constitute and does not purport to be expert judgment, an analysis of the views expressed by those who ask relief from the present system may well be considered.

The suggestions which have been offered may be grouped in four general propositions as to the manner in which convicts should be employed as follows:

I. In constructing and maintaining public highways; in quarrying and breaking stone for macadam; in digging canals; in any unskilled labor; or upon public works.

II. In the manufacture of supplies for public institutions, such as boots and shoes, woolen cloth, blankets, knit goods, furniture, etc.

III. In such a diversity of industries as to minimize competition in any one of them, and if necessary, to work a fewer number of hours per day.

IV. In acquiring hand-trades and working at all kinds of handicraft without the aid of machinery.

These plans all preconceive State control for State account, though it is claimed in regard to a diversity of occupations that it constitutes a remedy within the contract system, and is the true solution of the difficulty. There are, however, two parties to a contract, and the State cannot move in the direction of introducing new industries without the coöperation of the contractor; in fact the initiative must come from him. It is he who buys the convicts and to promote his own ends, not those of the philanthropist; and he comes into the prison to attack his competitors, not to conciliate them. Moreover the contract system has been in operation for many years in many places, and the uniform tendency has been to a concentration rather than a diffusion of the prison forces; so that the prospect of a radical change of tendency in the system itself is exceedingly remote.

There are numerous other schemes proposed, for the most part without much consideration, such as the establishment of a penal colony in Alaska; the building of State railroads; the scavenging and street cleaning of cities; the operation of a large State farm, etc.; but the foregoing are in substance the leading suggestions of a practical nature, and are worthy of some separate examination.

I. THE MAKING OF ROADS, ETC., AND EMPLOYMENT AT UNSKILLED LABOR.

This is the solution offered in most cases by the labor organizations. Out of 225 expressed opinions which have come into this office from that source, 58 are in favor of any general application of the public account system, while 104 demand this form of outdoor unskilled manual labor, and the remainder are miscellaneous suggestions. This is a natural rather than a logical conclusion on the part of those who for the most part are engaged in skilled occupations; the proposed plan would certainly relieve the mechanic arts of all competition. The paramount objections, however, to this plan,—provided it were proper for the State to undertake local improvements and possible to reconcile all the conflicting interests which would arise—are two. In the first place the making of roads, the breaking of stone or any form of unskilled labor would not remove competition, but merely shift it from one class to another; from the mechanic to the day laborer, who works harder for less money than anybody. It would be manifestly inconsistent to unload upon the weaker industrial element burdens which are insupportable to the stronger.

In the matter of public works, it is already a grievance, against which national legislation has recently been sought and obtained, that prison-cut stone is permitted to enter into public buildings. If convicts were required to lay it as well as cut it, while there could be no competition in the price, either of material or labor, there would be a decided infringement upon the free laborer's opportunity to work.

But a more serious objection, if possible, to propositions of this kind, is that they involve the pernicious practice of removing prisoners from prison walls, and herding them in camps and stockades about the country, thus neutralizing all efforts at discipline or reformation, and demoralizing the communities in which they are located.

II. THE EMPLOYMENT OF CONVICTS IN THE MANUFACTURE OF SUPPLIES FOR STATE INSTITUTIONS.

This excellent suggestion meets with uniform approval, but only partially covers the case. This again deprives the outer world of the sale of whatever goods the institutions may procure from penitentiaries, but cannot affect market prices for those goods, and con-

sequently is harmless in the matter of competition. But the whole amount of such supplies is very small compared with the producing capacities of the prisons of the State. The average annual cost of all the clothing, boots and shoes, bedding and dry goods used by all the charitable institutions of the State, for ten years prior to 1885, was \$42,878; and for furniture, the average annual expenditure for the same period was \$13,263. The cost of all the clothing, boots and shoes and bedding for the penitentiary at Joliet in 1884 was \$15,957, and at Chester \$5,836, or, in round numbers, \$78,000 per annum covers the total cost to the State of the class of supplies it is proposed to manufacture in prisons.

The State of Ohio has established a woolen mill in the penitentiary at Columbus, for the manufacture, on public account, of woolen goods, which has proved entirely successful and profitable. The products of this mill are cloth for the garments of convicts, and for citizen suits for those discharged; blankets, stockings, and yarn. The number of convicts necessary to run this one-set mill is 29, yet they have a surplus of goods for the general market. It is the intention to enlarge the capacity of the mill, and consequently provide employment for more men, but it is evident that only a small proportion of the whole number of convicts could thus be engaged solely on goods for public use. Yet this industry could be supplemented by the making of shoes, and possibly furniture for public institutions, thus enlarging the field of State account work for the needs of the State. Without question this policy would commend itself at once in theory and in practice, as a legitimate and acceptable disposition of such portion of the prison force as could be thus employed. That proportion, however, might not exceed one-tenth of the prison population.

III. THE INTRODUCTION OF A GREAT DIVERSITY OF INDUSTRIES, AND THE REDUCTION OF THE HOURS OF LABOR.

This would be an essential feature of any plan designed to reduce or remove competition. The tendency under the present system is to concentration upon a few industries, and the consequent aggravation of competition in those industries. Any opposite tendency must be a corrective of that evil, and the multiplication of pursuits carried to its issue, must in itself constitute a sufficient remedy under any of the several systems of labor. But the application of this policy to the contract system is believed to be encumbered with more hindrances than in either of the other systems, for the reasons

already suggested. In the former profits constitute the foremost consideration, and in any general subdivision of occupations, that consideration must be subordinate to more important ends.

Under the piece-price plan the introduction of new and varied industries is entirely feasible if the government maintain exclusive control and ownership of all machinery and appliances, but any efforts in this direction become embarrassed at once if an extensive plant be set up within the walls by parties bidding for given products.

The fullest development of this policy is, however, made possible under the public account system. The State is under no necessity to realize immediate and actual profits upon the industries it may establish, and under this system does not become a party to the private business enterprises of the speculator in convicts. It is entirely untrammelled in the exercise of its highest functions, and may, if it is found to subserve the greatest good, develop whatever and what number of occupations may promise the best results.

The reduction in the number of working hours would also be a matter wholly within the discretion of the prison officer under the public account form of management, but more or less impracticable under all forms which involve copartnership or contract relations with outside parties.

As a measure for reducing the degree of competition its efficacy would be inappreciable under any system. It would simply involve a corresponding increase in the number employed in any given industry, either under the contract or piece-price plan; while with a judicious distribution of industries, such as State control would render possible, it would be unnecessary.

IV. EXCLUSIVE EMPLOYMENT AT MANUAL TRADES, AND THE ABOLISHMENT OF POWER MACHINERY.

All the investigations of the Bureau point to this proposition as the most effectual remedy offered for harmful competition in trade; while at the same time it promises the best results from the standpoint of the prison reformer. It could have no development within any system of contracting, either for the time or products of convicts, because it would not be profitable to either.

The fullest scope could only be given to it by the State, inspired by the broadest motives, for the profits arising from it would not appear in the treasury, but only in moral consequences to society, and material benefits to a large class of citizens. The plan is not,

therefore, commended as a business venture, but for what it will do for the prisoner and the public, though it even sacrifice the entirely successful business methods of the present.

Manifestly it is the general use of improved machinery which makes competition possible under any system. Without it the contract system would be harmless, and neither the piece-price plan nor the public account system could be abused.

It is equally the presence of machinery in prisons which chiefly obstructs the scientific and humane correction of the criminal.

Under the prison factory system the convict is simply made a part of a machine, which forever turns out a part of a product. He works a lever or pedal which drives a peg or polishes a heel, and masters in a few hours or days the one mechanical movement which thereafter constitutes his task, and at the same time limits his powers. At the end of his term he is no more a shoemaker than a tailor; he has learned nothing, and returns to society equipped with no capacities which he did not before possess.

On the other hand, if all power machinery be removed from prison shops, and the cooper be made to finish all parts of a barrel and the barrel itself by hand; and if the shoemaker or harness-maker or stone-cutter be taught the details of those trades, and made to work by turns at all the branches of them, then, when set at liberty, he finds himself endowed both with the skill and incentive to earn an honest living.

By this plan those who have trades may work at them, and those who have not may learn them; the capacities of individuals, and the total efficiency of the force are correspondingly developed; and the perfunctory machine process is supplanted by manual and intelligent skill.

The products of an establishment of this character would doubtless cost more than corresponding factory products, and more even than they would sell for in the market; but it does not follow that they would cost more to the State than they would be worth to the State, if profits were to be measured by any other standard than the monetary one.

The prison hand-made product, at least such portion of it as could not be absorbed by public institutions, would find its way to the general market, but not in such quantities nor of such a character as to create competition in any injurious form. The hand process cannot disturb the swift and potent machine, though the latter may readily reduce the manual artisan to beggary. And the

inmates of prisons may be continuously and profitably employed at almost any kind of handicraft, unaided by power machinery, without disturbing in any degree the workers with, or even without, machinery beyond the prison walls.

In brief this plan presents every advantage, save direct profits from manufacturing. It provides the widest opportunity for the reformatory treatment of the criminal, and practically destroys his power for mischief in the market.

In this proposition, more than in any other which is submitted, would seem to lie the true solution of the problem.*

SUMMARY.

From the foregoing review of the various systems of labor in prisons, and the current theories regarding their efficiency and practicability, the following brief deductions may be summarized:

I. That all considerations point to the public account system as embodying the true theory of penal administration, for the reason that this system intrusts every feature of management to the exclusive discretion of the State, and renders possible whatever modifications of policy the public welfare may demand.

II. That while under any circumstances this system guaranties certain disciplinary advantages, its efficiency as a remedy for industrial competition outside the walls depends wholly upon the manner of administering it.

III. That the introduction of the piece-price plan involves contract relations, possibly for a term of years, which in their nature restrain the State from entire freedom of action; but that under its best development the plan will facilitate reformation and reduce competition.

IV. That this plan, like the public account, may be made to perpetuate the evils of the contract system, so far as competition with free industries is concerned, if the foremost object of the directing authorities be to render the institution self-supporting.

V. If, however, the demand for a strictly remunerative system be made subordinate to the higher aims of penal treatment, either

*A conspicuous example of the successful application of such a system of labor as is here suggested is found in the Eastern Penitentiary of Pennsylvania in which convicts have been taught and have been employed at hand-trades exclusively for over fifty years. That the results of the plan are not necessarily disastrous even from an economic point of view is shown by the fact that this institution, containing an average of over a thousand prisoners, requires an annual appropriation of only \$40,000 for all expenses above the profits on manufacturing. The statement is also made, in a recent report of the board of inspectors, that for the year 1885 the net cost of maintaining the institution above the earnings of convicts was 7 cents and 7 mills per diem per capita; while during the same year the additional sum of \$8,830 was earned and placed to the credit of convicts for overwork.

the public account or piece-price plans will afford the desired relief from competition, but under the former the opportunities and possibilities are much the greater.

VI. This follows from the fact that the public account system is specially adapted to the fullest application of the three most approved methods of employing convicts, namely: Upon a great diversity of industries. In the manufacture of supplies for State institutions. In manual trades without the use of machinery.

CONCLUSIONS.

These propositions lead to the general conclusion, that, from the stand-point of the labor organizations and their allies, the manufacturers, as regards the three general plans for utilizing the labor of convicts, the contract system is the worst, and the public account system the best; while the piece-price plan is a compromise arrangement, obviating some of the evils of the contract, but incapable of developing some of the best fruits of the public account.

It has been shown how any of these systems may be made equally injurious as a competing agency in the market, if directed solely to the achievement of revenues, but also that under the last two, relief is entirely possible, while under the first it is practically impossible.

As between the public account and piece-price plans the choice must rest with the former, because, although subject to serious abuse, it also opens the way to every reform.

The piece-price plan is after all a mere shifting of the evil rather than a removal of it. It nominally removes the contractor and his foreman, but practically involves a term contract, and permits the presence of an "instructor." In prisons where this experiment has been undertaken as a substitute for the contract system, the late contractors have in fact been the only bidders, for the reason that they were already organized within the walls, and owners of the various plants. They could thus make their own terms for the manufactured "piece," as absolutely as they could control bids under the contract, and could equally maintain the volume of their product.

The double consequence of such an attempt to reform the service, in New Jersey, has been that the amount of product thrown upon the market has been even greater, and the cost of that product less than before; while owing to the low offers made for the finished article, it has been necessary to work the men harder than before in order to maintain the former revenues to the State.

Such difficulties may readily be anticipated in any experimental efforts with a new plan; but unless a judicious subdivision of employments and State ownership of machinery be made features of this system, competition will exist as actively as before, and the workingman will still find prison-made goods in his market in competing quantities and at competitive prices.

While instances may be cited of corresponding apparent failures of the public account system to afford the relief desired and intended—as in New York, where, in the Auburn prison, the boot and shoe factory was taken up as the contractors left it, and in nine months turned out nearly a quarter of a million dollars worth of goods—yet the fact remains that the system is capable of entirely different direction and results, and the odium of any mal-administration of it rests upon its administrators, and not upon the system. The authority of the prison directory is absolute under this system, and it is only necessary to provide suitable appropriations in order to make its responsibility for desired results equally exacting.

This constitutes the paramount advantage of the public account over the piece-price plan, that it is relieved from the restraints of contracts of every nature, and is susceptible of any form of development which the State may choose to give it.

This makes it possible to divert prison industries into many channels; to manufacture boots and shoes and woollens and furniture for State use; and to abolish machinery entirely from the prison shops. The first of these proposes such a diffusion of the injuries arising from prison labor as to render them inappreciable; the second makes the State its own producer and consumer, and to that extent removes competition; the third alone is complete in its operation, affording every opportunity desired by the prison reformer, and removing every cause of complaint on the part of the labor reformer.

This alone is possible under a system of exclusive State control, and for this reason that system commends itself above all others to those who suffer from the contract system, and who wish for wise and radical measures of reform.

The solution of the problem is believed to lie in the banishment of power machinery and the employment of convicts at manual occupations under the exclusive direction and management of the State.

To give effect to this or any other reformatory policy it will be necessary, first, to abandon the expectation of making penal institutions

self-sustaining. As compared with the importance of other objects it is of very small consequence whether the prison revenues defray the prison expenses or not.

The maintenance and management of convicts is as much a public interest to be provided for from the public treasury as charitable institutions or courts of justice or police systems. It is a mere accident of the penal system that some part of the public money invested in it may be recovered by judicious management; and it is an error rife with evil consequences, past and present, that this recovery of the money expended should be made, as it has been for years, a paramount object instead of an incidental feature of penal detention.

The fact remains that all the processes for the repression of crime are alike public interests of the gravest character, deserving first of all whatever expenditure of money public morals and public safety demand. The cost of the maintenance of penitentiaries should especially be accepted as a part of the cost of good government. Appropriations should be made, upon careful estimates, as they are made for charitable institutions, and sufficient in amount to defray whatever expenses the most approved methods of management may involve. Then, whatever earnings may accrue from the wisest direction of the labor of convicts will constitute a legitimate credit to that fund, and reduce to that extent the cost to the State of the protection of society.

But aside from whatever diversity of opinion may be held as to the true penal system, or whatever measures may be considered feasible by the legislature as the wisest first step towards a modification of the present system, it must be conceded that the contract system rests under a pronounced popular disapproval; that it is a bar to any progressive scientific treatment of the criminal classes; that it imposes a special burden, which should be borne by the whole people, upon half a dozen industries, and those who subsist by them; and that under it the State practically barter the birth-right of a portion of its people to industrial prosperity and contentment, for a mere money consideration.

It should not be too much to expect that such a system should be abandoned, or that an enlightened statesmanship, with all modern experience as a guide, and backed by the revenues and intelligence of a great State, should be able to devise a better one.

APPENDIX.

RECENT ACTION OF OTHER STATES IN REGARD TO CONVICT LABOR.

OHIO.

On the 24th of March, 1884, the legislature of Ohio passed an act relating to the imprisonment, government and employment of convicts in the State penitentiary, which provided, among other details of management, that "The contract system of employing convicts shall not exist, in any form, in the Ohio penitentiary, but the prisoners shall be employed by the State, and in such way as in the least possible manner to interfere with or affect free labor; and the managers shall use every effort to so dispose of all merchandise as to avoid injurious competition with any business of the citizens of the State. All persons under the age of twenty-two years shall be employed at hand work exclusively for the purpose of acquiring a trade. The managers are required to employ all the prisoners that are necessary in making all articles for the various State institutions as far as practicable, and the institutions shall pay to the penitentiary the market price for all such articles furnished."

Under this act the convicts have since been employed, as rapidly as released from the old contracts, by the board of managers, both upon public account and under the piece-price plan. But as the contracts are still not all expired, the three systems of labor have, since the passage of the law, been simultaneously in operation, and will so continue until the expiration of the last contract in February, 1887.

Under the piece-price plan the officers are now making brooms, cigars, tools, hollow-ware and wagon wheels, principally for those who held contracts under the old system, and who still own the machinery and plant for their respective industries.

In order to arrive at a commensurate price per piece to charge for the manufactured articles convicts were tested as to their average capacity for production, and such a price only was fixed upon and accepted as would afford a revenue in excess of the income derived per capita under the contract system. This was deemed necessary in view of the fact that under the piece-price plan the State assumed certain business risks which under the contract were carried by the contractor.

The managers devoted special care and attention to the proper adjustment of prices, and only acted upon their personal and experimental knowledge of the capacities of convicts in each industry. In this way although there was some delay at first, the details were satisfactorily arranged, and such prices fixed upon as were believed to represent the true value of the work done.

As a trial enterprise under the State account system the managers determined upon the establishment of a woolen mill for the manufacture of cloth, blankets, yarns, etc., for the use of prisoners and for other State institutions. This mill is designed to give employment ultimately to about 60 men, though at present the number is 29. It has thus far proved a successful and profitable undertaking, and is under the direction of a superintendent employed expressly for his knowledge of the business.

There have been some losses of money to the State during this transitional period and will doubtless be more, but it is the expressed opinion of the Governor that "while money considerations are important, those which are not measured by any form of legal tender are much more so, and that in all respects except financial the new system is likely to prove a success." The State Board of Charities and the managers and warden of the institution agree upon a similar judgment as to the final success of the new methods. The Governor says further: "But whether prison labor be on State account or by the piece-price plan, the buildings, tools and machinery should be owned by the State. And the plan adopted by the present board of first developing the results of work upon the piece-price plan, and changing more or less gradually to work upon State account, coupled with moderate appropriations which shall ultimately secure the ownership of the entire plant by the State, seems the best possible method under present circumstances of disposing of this most difficult problem."

PENNSYLVANIA.

The legislature of Pennsylvania took action upon the convict labor question in 1883, by the passage of a law to abolish the contract system in the prisons and reformatory institutions of the State of Pennsylvania, and to regulate the wages of the inmates.

This law prohibits the contracting of convict labor not only in the State prisons and reformatories, but in those institutions deriving their support only in part from the State, and also in county prisons, work-houses, etc.

The officers of the State institutions proper are directed, upon the expiration of existing contracts, to employ all convicts "for and in behalf of the State;" the officers of institutions partially maintained by the State, are directed to employ the inmates only "for and in behalf of such institutions;" while county officers are forbidden to let the labor of convicts by contract, but to employ them "for and in behalf of their respective counties."

Section four of the act makes this provision as to the disposition of the earnings of convicts: "All convicts, etc., * * * shall receive quarterly wages equal to the amount of their earnings, to be fixed from time to time by the authorities of the institution, from which board, lodging, and clothing, and the costs of trial shall be deducted, and the balance paid to their families or dependents; in case none such appear, the amount shall be paid to the convict at the expiration of his term of imprisonment."

A subsequent law of the same legislature provided that all prison-made goods offered for sale should be branded, excepting, however, such goods as were shipped out of the State for sale. Prison officials are made amenable to penalty for permitting products to be removed without the brand; and dealers are prohibited from selling convict-made goods which are not branded.

The experience of the prison authorities in Pennsylvania under this law is not made a subject of mention in their recent reports. The restriction as to contracting will principally affect the Western Penitentiary, where the system has long been in operation. The Eastern Penitentiary is the widely known model prison, which has so successfully applied the system of separate confinement, and individual treatment, to the criminal. In this institution each convict has a cell and workshop and a little open court, and is never permitted to leave them or see any other prisoner during the whole period of his detention.

NEW JERSEY.

An act to abolish and prohibit the employment of convicts under contract was passed by the legislature of New Jersey in 1884.

It consists of two clauses, one making it unlawful to contract for the labor of prisoners in the State prison, and the other prohibiting such contracts in any prison, jail or public reformatory in the State. Any prison official violating the provisions of this act is subject to fine and imprisonment.

Subsequently, in the same year, a supplemental law was enacted to provide for the employment of the inmates of penal institutions. Under this law the prisoners are to be employed first "in the manufacture of goods used in such institutions as are under State

control." All prisoners not so engaged, "shall be employed on what is commonly known as the piece-price plan," so far as the authorities shall be able to arrange for their employment in such manner, or "they shall be employed under what is known as the public account system," and the revenue derived from such labor in State institutions shall be paid into the treasury of the State, and in the case of county institutions to that of the county. The number of men permitted to be employed in any one branch of industry is restricted to one hundred.

Before any labor is let under the piece-price plan, proposals must be advertised for for three weeks; and before any goods manufactured on public account are sold they must also be advertised for three weeks.

Persons contracting for the manufacture of articles by the piece are permitted to place their own agents or instructors in the prison shops.

The attempt to give effect to these legal enactments has created more or less confusion in the New Jersey prisons, and has developed a variety of opinions on the part of prison authorities, as to the wisdom of the change, and the feasibility of the new system.

The piece-price plan has been put upon trial, and a mistake has been made in letting one of the contracts under it at a price ridiculously low. This, however, could not be discovered until the trial was made as to the productive capacity of the men in the given industry, and the State has reserved the option to cancel any contracts which prove unsatisfactory upon payment of a given forfeiture.

The piece-price plan, as undertaken in New Jersey, contemplates the furnishing of machinery and plant by the parties for whom the goods are made, then that they shall furnish the necessary material, and an instructor to direct the convicts. With this machinery and material the State undertakes to furnish power, gas and fuel and to manufacture finished articles or pieces of the description contracted for, and to deliver the same to the contractor in given quantities and of a given standard as to quality, for a given sum per piece. The contracts entered into call for the manufacture of a certain number of specified articles per month, as, for instance, 5,000 pairs of shoes, 6,000 dozen hose, 2,000 dozen shirts, etc. Practically the persons who have made the successful bids are those who held contracts under the old system, and who have the appliances on the ground for continuing their special manufactures. With the one exception mentioned, the amounts bid for the manufacturing of a given amount of stock, were equivalent to what it cost to make a corresponding amount under the old system when paying 50 or 60 cents a day for each convict. In the case of the proprietors of the shirt factory, it was found upon trial that the amount they contracted for per piece, was but little more than half what it cost them when paying 50 cents per day for convicts. In brief, the convicts had to work harder and longer to make 27½ cents a day for the institution than when they were earning 50 cents a day under the contract. As soon, however, as this was realized steps were taken to pay the stipulated forfeit and cancel the arrangement. During the experimental period, errors of this nature may be unavoidable.

Although it is conceded that the time has not yet come for forming a correct judgment as to the issue of this experiment, diverse opinions as to the probable success of the plan are entertained and expressed by the authorities according to their personal predilections. The supervisor, in his last report to the Governor, after reviewing the difficulties encountered, sums up his conclusion as follows:

"First: That the contract system will yield as good if not better financial results to the State, and afford as much, if not more, protection to outside labor than the piece-price plan."

"Second: That the piece-price plan is beset with many difficulties from which the contract system is entirely free, and that any price that can be obtained for making goods by the piece will not suffice to prevent that competition with free labor which was evidently the intent of the law."

The board of inspectors agree in the main with the supervisor, and referring to the vexatious delays and annoyances incident to the establishment of an untried system on so large a scale, say: "For this reason definite conclusions cannot now be given as to the relative excellence of the new and the old systems, but the opinion of the board, based

upon their experience up to the present time, is that the piece-price plan will not be an improvement in any respect over the old contract system."

On the other hand the keeper (or warden) of the State prison commits himself to another view of the situation, in his recent report to the Governor. "It would be eminently unfair," he says, "to gauge the practical results of the system, without making due allowance for mistakes that have been inadvertently made by the authorities in putting it into operation. These mistakes once rectified, it will become apparent to all that the piece-price system is an unqualified success, and an important step toward the solution of the convict labor problem.

"Under this system we are enabled to introduce a number of new industries in the work shops of the prison, thus giving our convicts an opportunity to learn better trades than heretofore, and avoiding the massing of so many at any one industry. The assignment of convicts to certain branches of labor is also greatly simplified, as we can now find suitable employment for nearly all of them, and put convicts at work who would have been absolutely useless under the old system.

"The system has also a tendency to improve the discipline of convicts, and make them do their work more cheerfully than they have heretofore.

"In concluding I am happy to state that my fears, expressed last year, that the new system would involve much additional expense, have not been realized."

The Governor, in his message to the legislature, commends the new system in the following language: "I am satisfied that the piece-price plan recommended by the friends of labor and adopted by the prison authorities is the best solution of this labor problem yet presented, and that it cannot fail of success *under the management of those who desire that it shall succeed*. Errors or mistakes may be made in introducing the system, but with experience there can be no real difficulty in making this system a financial success."

NEW YORK.

The question of continuing the contract system of labor in the prisons of the State of New York was submitted to the popular vote of that State in 1883, and the people expressed their disapprobation of it by an emphatic majority.

The next legislature accordingly passed the following brief but obscure law:

"The Superintendent of State prisons shall not, nor shall any other authority whatsoever renew or extend any existing or pending contract, or make any new contract, for employment of any convicts in any of the prisons, penitentiaries or reformatories within this State.

Subsequently in the same year the managers of houses of refuge, reformatories or correctional institutions, were forbidden by law to contract for the labor of any children committed to such institutions.

A law was also passed authorizing the warden of Clinton prison, in that State, to employ convicts to the number of fifty in repairing such roads and highways as had been constructed by the State within ten miles of the prison.

There was also a commission appointed to examine into the various systems of labor and management in prisons, and to report their conclusions with such recommendations as they might deem proper.

The law prohibiting the making of contracts for prison labor, although clearly designed merely to abolish the so-called contract system, the distinctive features of which were entirely well understood, was given such a literal interpretation as to embrace also the so-called piece-price plan, because that too involved, strictly speaking, the making of contracts. Consequently the Superintendent of State Prisons claimed that under the law he had no discretion but to inaugurate the State account system, but as there had been no appropriation made for manufacturing on State account he was virtually powerless to give any employment whatever to many of the convicts thrown upon his hands by the expiration of the old contracts.

The entire absence of provision in the law for the emergencies which the law created, and the construction which the letter of the law admitted if it did not compel, have greatly complicated its enforcement, and embarrassed the administration of prison affairs throughout the State.

Some State industries have, however, been undertaken in two of the prisons, and in spite of unfavorable conditions and the expressed prejudice of the Superintendent of Prisons in favor of the contract system, the industries so established have proved financially successful. In the last report of the superintendent he says: "In Clinton prison where the most prisoners have been employed on State account, the earnings of the convicts show a handsome gain over those of the previous year. This limited experience seems to warrant the conclusion that with faithful, honest and capable administration the prisons in the State can be made self-sustaining under the State account system after the plant, machinery and equipment are established in the several prisons."

The warden of the Auburn prison says: "I deem it pertinent to State that we have in no case been under the necessity of selling our goods at a less price than asked by any other establishment in the country for the same quality. In other words we do not cut prices for the sake of selling our goods." He also states that 90 per cent. of nearly a quarter of a million dollars worth of boots and shoes are sold in the western States.

There prevails, however, a strong sentiment among the prison wardens and managers in favor of the piece-price plan over the public account system, and strenuous efforts have been made, thus far in vain, for such a modification of the law as will admit of the trial of the piece or process plan. Its advantages are thus enumerated by Mr. Brockway of the Elmira Reformatory, "Under this arrangement very small capital or none is required to be invested by the State; the constant knowledge and remedial treatment of each prisoner by the State's officer is insured; the government of the prison and prisoners is delivered from the conflict of the contractor's interest and agents; the State is most sure to receive the real value of the prisoner's labors; the competitive value of prison labor with free labor is nearest equalized; and more important still it enables an advanced disciplinary organization, putting the prisoner in the matter of earning his own living on a basis closely analogous to citizen workers outside."

The Superintendent of Prisons in his last report offers many cogent reasons why this plan should be authorized in the New York prisons, or at least that the prison authorities should be invested with discretion as to the employment of the increasing number of idle men.

The commission of experts appointed, at the time the contract system was abolished, to investigate and report upon the relative merits of other systems, gave the subject careful study, and summarized their conclusions in the following resolutions, which also received the approval of the Prison Association of New York:

Resolved, I. That the highest test of excellence in any system of convict labor is to be found in the adaptability of that system to promote the end of the convict's reformation.

II. That the contract system in principle and practical methods is inconsistent with those forms of discipline and treatment which are most conducive to the prisoner's reformation, and should, therefore, be condemned.

III. That the best and most natural method of employing convict labor is in the manufacture of supplies for use in institutions supported by the State, and in such other public work for the use of the State as can be carried on in confinement; and that so far as such public work can be provided the State prisoners should be employed on the same under the public account system of labor.

IV. That all State prisoners for whom such public work as is mentioned in the last preceding resolution cannot be provided, should be employed upon the piece-price plan of labor."

Referring to this subject in his annual message of 1886, the Governor of New York recognizes a disposition in the Superintendent of Prisons to defeat the intent of the law prohibiting the contract system, by magnifying the difficulties encountered under the law, and so conducting the State account system as to increase rather than remove the competition of prison with free labor. He says, "Instead of diversifying to a reasonable extent the number of trades carried on, and limiting the number of convicts employed in

any one industry, and properly regulating the sale of prison products so as to render competition with honest labor less harmful, the management has been such that, so far as injurious competition is concerned, nearly all the evils of the contract system have been perpetuated."

By these excerpts from the public documents of New York, it is apparent that there is an entire absence of harmony, both of opinion and of action, on the subject of prison labor among the State authorities, which would of itself seriously embarrass any proposed reform.

The legislature, under compulsion of the people, passed the briefest possible form of law, simply destructive of the old system, and wholly ignoring all responsibility as to a new one. The burden of its execution and the odium of its consequences were thrust upon unwilling prison officers, who had been satisfied with the old and were apprehensive of any new system. Their difficulties were increased by the refusal of the legislature to explain or modify its own act, or to afford proper facilities for its execution. It could hardly be expected that officers who dissented from the principle of the law and yet were charged with its execution, under aggravating difficulties, would be at once and entirely successful in demonstrating its practicability or wisdom.

They have, however, aimed to keep the men at work, and to preserve the State whole from pecuniary losses, until such time as a definite State policy should be formulated, and provision be made for carrying it into effect, by the State legislature. In this they have been partially successful, and if they were permitted to introduce the piece-price plan, would doubtless be wholly so, but restrained as they are by the accepted interpretation of the law, the number of idle men is increasing as the contracts expire, while at the same time, in the opinion, at least, of the Governor, so many men are employed in the same industries, that the object sought in framing the law is really defeated.

Until definite plans are determined upon, and adequate appropriations are made, and some harmony of purpose is developed to give effect to the spirit of the law in good faith, there is little to be expected in New York in the way of relief from the effect of prison industries upon free labor, notwithstanding the abolishment of the contract system.

CALIFORNIA.

In a recent communication to the press* the warden of the State prison of California, at Folsom, makes the following statement in reference to convict labor in that State: "California, I believe, is the only State in the Union which has by constitutional provision abolished the contract system. The following is the exact language of the clause: 'After the 1st day of January, 1882, the labor of convicts shall not be let out by contract to any person, copartnership or corporation, and the legislature shall by law provide for the working of convicts for the benefit of the State.'

"In prison parlance the word 'contract' is clearly defined and universally understood to apply to leasing the prisoner out in person under contract for a stipulated price. We have had no judicial construction of the wording, but are satisfactorily operating on our own construction, and have no doubt but that we will be sustained by the courts should the question ever reach that department. We are on the piece-price plan at both our prisons, excepting the jute factory which is operated on the public account system. We are endeavoring and hope to bring it, also, under the piece-price as more satisfactory and desirable. One great objection to our jute mill labor under any plan is that we are teaching over three hundred of the younger prisoners a trade which they cannot utilize after leaving the prison. We ought to establish another mill under the same management, so as to furnish employment for worthy discharged convicts to earn a living as free men for a while, at least, after getting out, and which might also furnish the means of grading prisoners by allowing the most deserving an opportunity to work for themselves on parole prior to the expiration of sentence. The same reasons may be urged for the establishment of a free-labor stone quarry at Folsom.

"From a reformatory standpoint the piece-price is the plan, and to any one who studies the cost of commitments and recummitments it is clearly the most economical."

*Chicago Morning News.

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